The Possibility and Reality of Magick, Sorcery, and Witchcraft, demonstrated.

OR, A

VINDICATION

Of a COMPLEAT

History of *Magick*,

SORCERY, and WITCHCRAFT.

In Answer to

Dr. HUTCHINSON's *Historical Essay*, Now Bishop of *Down and Connor*, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I. Containing an Examination and Answer of the Positions laid down in that Book.

PART II. An Essay of the Nature of Material and Immaterial Substances. How Immaterial Substances may affect one another, and alter Matter, or work upon Human Bodies; proved by Reason, Philosophy, Moral Proof, and the Testimony of Scripture.

By *RICHARD BOULTON*, Sometime of *Brazen-Nose* College in *Oxford*.

Deut xviii. 10, 11. *There shall not be found amongst you any one that maketh his Son or his Daughter pass through the Fire, or that useth Divination, or an Observer of Times, or an Enchanter, or a Witch. Or a Charmer, or Consulter with Familiar Spirits, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer.*

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THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

HAVING formerly wrote a Compleat Hiſtory of *Magick*, *Sorcery*, and *Witchcraft*; containing a Collection of the moſt Authentick, and none but well atteſted Relations, of the Practice of thoſe Diabolical Arts; and having

ving given an Account in the *Preface* and *Introduction*, of the Deſign and Uſefulneſs of that Hiſtory, (to which I refer the *Reader*,) which was deſigned for the Service and Good of Mankind; not only by repreſenting the Barbarity and pernicious Effects of ſuch wicked Practices, but alſo to deter others, and breed in them an Abhorrence of ſuch notorious Crimes, which are offenſive, and contrary to both the Laws of God and Men, as well as deſtructive to the Souls and Bodies of the Guilty, and obnoxious to Mankind, who ſuffered in all Ages, by ſuch evil Doers: I am not a little ſurprized, that one whoſe Buſineſs is, as a Shepherd of the Flock of Chriſt, to diſcourage Vice, and pronounce the Sentence of his Maſter againſt ſuch wicked Practices, as might do ſuch Damage to thoſe who are, or ought to be his pecu-

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liar Care: I ſay, I am not a little ſurprized, that he ſhould write an Eſſay on that Subject, to diſcourage ſo good a Deſign; eſpecially to miſrepreſent ſo uſeful a Hiſtory, as if it might do ſome Miſchief.

Having been ſome Time out of *England*, and not ſeeing this *Eſſay*, I was obliged to lye under the Doctor's too ſevere Cenſure: But coming to *London* this Spring, and meeting with that Book, I thought my ſelf obliged to vindicate both my ſelf and my Deſign, and to clear my ſelf of ſuch ungrounded Reflections. Upon which Thoughts, reading the Doctor's Book, I found, that he had avoided, both giving Reaſons to juſtify his Charge, as well as offering any Arguments to maintain his Cauſe; oppoſing moral Proof, and the Teſtimony of Scripture, with his bare

ipſe dixit, or poſitive Aſſertions to the contrary; uſing cunning Inſinuations, and ſlight Evaſions, inſtead of Arguments, to leſſen the Credit of Authentick Relations, and to baffle the undoubted Teſtimony of Holy Writ.

Upon this View and Judgment made of his *Eſſay*, I began to write the following Vindication of my Compleat Hiſtory of *Magick*, *Sorcery*, and *Witchcraft*; in which, I preſume, I have made it appear, that his Charge was altogether Groundleſs, and without Reaſon; and that what I have offered, is grounded upon Reaſon, moral Proof, and the Teſtimony of Sacred Writings; and conſequently, not likely to do Miſchief, but Good. I need not ſay, that his *Eſſay* is conſequently likely to do much Harm; becauſe, if what is contained in my Hiſtory,

ſtory, is confirmed by, and conſentaneous to what is contained in Scripture, it will follow, that what he ſays in his *Eſſay*, is the contrary.

The Scripture, in ſundry Places, mention and condemn the Practice of *Magick*, *Sorcery*, and *Witchcraft*, as alſo the Uſe of Charms and Enchantments, and tell us of the Appearance of *Samuel*'s Ghoſt, and often mention the Apparition or Appearance of Spirits; as the Angel which rolled away the Stone from the Door of the Sepulchre; and the Devil, who tempted our Saviour, and carried him about; and what we have delivered in our Hiſtory, are Relations of the ſame Nature, well atteſted.

The Scriptures likewiſe tell us of ſeveral poſſeſſed with Devils; to prove all which,

which, we have quoted the ſeveral Texts relating to theſe Diabolical Artifices and Practices; and as the Scripture tells us of Poſſeſſions, we have alſo cited ſeveral Hiſtories of the like Nature in our Compleat Hiſtory.

We ſhall further obſerve, in Vindication of what we have offered, that if the Scripture hath taken Notice of ſuch Things, and condemns them; to terrify the Wicked, and to breed an Abhorrence of Evil Actions; and that the World may be aware of the Devil and all his Works, and guard themſelves from being deluded and led aſide from the Service of God: I ſay, if ſuch Things may warn us to beware of the Devil, and fear and worſhip God, who is to protect us from ſuch Evils; our Hiſtory containing Relations of the ſame Nature, will

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be of the ſame Uſe, and will do no Miſchief, but Good.

But, on the contrary, if the Doctor's Eſſay diſſuades us from believing ſuch Relations, will not the Diſbelief of ſuch Hiſtories tend to breed a Diſbelief of parallel Hiſtories in Scripture? And if we diſbelieve Sacred Writings, muſt not all Religion be ſlighted? And then, will not the Doctor's *Eſſay* be likely to do no Good, but Miſchief?

Upon theſe Conſiderations, I leave the Reader to judge, how juſtly the Doctor hath laid his Charge; or, whether I might not apply the Cenſure more properly to his *Eſſay*; but this will be decided by the following Sheets; wherein I have quoted Texts of Scripture, to con-

firm

firm what Arguments I have made uſe of againſt the Doctor's Opinion.

But the Doctor complains of the pompous Title of that Hiſtory, becauſe I call it a *Compleat Hiſtory*. The Reaſon why I call it Compleat, is, becauſe it contains a full Account of all thoſe Hiſtorical Relations, which are mentioned in the beſt Authors, and which are beſt atteſted, and moſt worthy Notice: And I hope, he will not take it amiſs, if his Eſſay is incompleat, becauſe it contains ſeveral Relations of no Value, trumpt up with the Advantage of cunning Inſinuations; as if Truth was of leſs Value, becauſe ſome Stories or Relations may be Impoſitions: At that Rate, nothing muſt be Right, becauſe ſome Things are Wrong; and my Hiſtory muſt be Invalid, becauſe his

his Relations are of no Force; or my Arguments muſt be inſufficient, becauſe his are contrary to the Teſtimony of Scripture.

Another Charge the Doctor lays againſt me is, that my Hiſtory is writ partially; becauſe it contains only an Account of Hiſtorical Truths; and to prove this Partiality, he hath collected ſome improbable and invaluable Stories; as if the not taking Notice of ſuch, made it imperfect. But I underſtand not how this can be counted Partiality; for though God Almighty lets the Sun ſhine upon the Unjuſt, as well as the Juſt, yet in Hiſtory, Truth is only to be regarded; and my Deſign was only to take Notice of ſuch Relations as carried the Face of Truth, throwing away the Rubbiſh, as Builders do in erecting new Houſes; which, ſince

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the Doctor hath been pleaſed to take up, he is welcome to retain it; and I ſhall think my Structure never the leſs compleat, for want of it; my Deſign not being to impoſe upon the World, but to write what was true and uſeful.

The Doctor, I ſee, throughout his Book, is for excuſing and extenuating the Sin of *Witchcraft*; and to that Degree, that he would have us believe no ſuch Thing, though the Holy Scripture mentions it in ſeveral Places. And though his Tenderneſs is ſo great, to bear theſe wretched Creatures harmleſs, I am ſorry the Doctor ſhould think, that to deny the Authority of the Scripture, is the beſt way to carry a good Conſcience, void of Offence towards God and Man; which in Effect he muſt do, if he denies what God by his Prophets and Apoſtles affirms to be true;

true; who often mention the Sin of *Witchcraft* as an abominable Crime, and pronounce the Puniſhment of Death againſt the Practiſers of it; tho' the Doctor would have them excuſed, and left to *the righteous Judge* (p. 65.) *at the laſt Day*: Of greater Tenderneſs and Clemency than God Almighty! who expreſsly (*Deut.* 18.) ſays, *A Witch ſhall not live.*

And though (*Page* 227.) the Doctor would make Party-Buſineſs of believing what the Scripture declares for Truth, and ſays, "One Side lays hold of them, "as Arguments of greater Faith and Or-"thodoxy, and cloſer Adherence to Scri-"pture;" yet I ſhall never blame any Party for their cloſe Adherence to Scripture; and wonder the Doctor, in Effect, ſhould leſſen its Authority to ſerve his Argument or Opinion, or endeavour

to alter the true Intent and Meaning of the expreſs Words. The Scripture ſhall always be the Standard of my Faith, and the Foundation of my Belief.

But not to trouble the Reader with a long and tedious *Preface*; I muſt refer him to the following Sheets, for a further Account and Anſwer to the Doctor's *Eſſay*, and Vindication of my *Hiſtory*, which are divided into Two Parts.

In the Firſt Part, I have examin'd and anſwer'd his Book, in Vindication of my own; in doing of which, I inſiſt on nothing but Reaſon, Moral Proof, and the Teſtimony of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*; which I hope are ſufficient to prove his Arguments invalid, and his Judgment erroneous. But if the Doctor will, as his Book ſeems to do, or really does,

does, call the Authority of Scripture in Queſtion;

In the Second Part, I have conſider'd the Nature of *Material* and *Immaterial Subſtances*; and the Power of *Immaterial Subſtances* in altering Matter, and affecting Human Bodies: The Deſign of which is to prove what the Scripture ſays, conſonant to Reaſon and Natural Philoſophy.

But here I would have it underſtood, that what I have ſaid of the Nature of *Material* and *Immaterial Subſtances*, and the Power of the latter in altering, or affecting Matter, is only ſo far as relates to our preſent Purpoſe and Occaſion; reſerving a more large Enquiry for another Subject, for which thoſe Thoughts are chiefly deſign'd.

If what I have said is satisfactory to the Candid and Impartial Reader, and to convince the World of the Integrity and Usefulness of my Design in publishing that *History of Witchcraft* I write in Vindication of, I shall think my Time not ill spent, and shall be obliged to the World for their Candid Reception.

I am

The READER's

Most Humble Servant,

RICHARD BOULTON.

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ERRATA.

PAge 1. Line 12. for *as as was*, r. *as well as.* P. 8. l. 38. for *make*, r. *prove.* P. 53. l. 38. for *the Scripture otherwiſe*, r. *the Scripture teſtifies otherwiſe.* P. 85. l. 38. dele *which.* P. 93. l. 16. for *he*, r. *ſhe.* P. 125. l. 12. for *Lachinal*, r. *Lachrymal.* P. 166. l. 16. for *diſcovered*, r. *diſordered.* P. 168. l. 22. dele *not only.*

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THE INTRODUCTION.

THE Diabolical Practice of Magick, Sorcery, and Witchcraft, hath been ſo long exercis'd in the World, through ſo many Ages and Countries, and their ill Effects been ſo prejudicial to Mankind, that no Body can reaſonably queſtion the Truth of ſuch miſchievous Arts, who contemn not the Evidence of moral Proof, the undeniable Teſtimony of Scripture, and the moſt evident Demonſtration Reaſon can make uſe of.

To demonſtrate their abominable ill Effects, as as was pernicious Practices, we, ſome Time ago, wrote a Hiſtory of Magick, Sorcery and Witchcraft, in Two Volumes, conſiſting of well atteſted Matters of Fact, to detect and diſcourage theſe vile Abuſers of Mankind. The Deſign of theſe Papers was for the Service of the Publick, and not only to lay open the Wickedneſs of ſome, and to diſcover by what unlawful Methods Mankind have been abuſed, but alſo to deter others from impious Crimes, and wicked Performances of the like Nature.

But this good Intention was not long put in Execution, before it met with ſome Oppoſition from a Man of Learning and Judgment, though in this Point very much miſtaken, in a Book entitled, *An Hiſtorical Eſſay concerning Witchcraft.*

The Author of this Eſſay having unjuſtly repreſented our Hiſtory of Magick, &c. as if it were

likely to do ſome Miſchief, we think our ſelves obliged, both in Juſtice to our good Intention, as well as the Service of the Publick, to look into, and examine how well this Author hath made his Charge good, and how ſtrenuouſly he hath defended his contrary Opinion; which being done, we ſhall endeavour to make it appear, upon what reaſonable Grounds we have proceeded in that Work, and upon what reaſonable Foundations the Belief of the Reality of ſuch Practices may be confirmed.

In purſuing of which Intentions, we ſhall take the following Method, dividing the whole into Two Parts.

In the firſt Part, we ſhall, in Anſwer to what the Author hath offered againſt what is delivered in our Hiſtory, examine what he hath ſaid in his Dedication, and ſhew, that what we have recited there, cannot be the Spring of the Corruptions of Religion, nor the Perverſion of Juſtice, but the contrary, being the ſober Belief of good and bad Spirits, which he owns to be an Eſſential Part of Chriſtian Belief.

Secondly, We ſhall ſhew that imaginary Relations cannot corrupt or pervert either Religion or Juſtice, having too weak an Influence to gain Credit or Aſſent, ſince they may be eaſily diſtinguiſhed from Realities well atteſted, of which our Hiſtory conſiſts.

Next, we ſhall make it appear, in anſwer to the falſe Conceptions of Melancholy Diſpoſitions, that the Temper of the Humours and Diſpoſition of the Spirits, may be altered by the Influence of evil Spirits; and that our learned Author hath brought only ridiculous Relations to leſſen the Credit, and diminiſh the Validity of authentick Truths.

We ſhall further proceed to ſhew, that the Arguments he hath offered, are either invalid, or Suppoſitious, or againſt himſelf, not diſtinguiſhing betwixt

twixt Realities and Suppoſitions, and that afflicted Perſons are incapable of Feigning and Counterfeiting.

We ſhall further take Notice, that in the progreſs of his Diſcourſe, Arguments againſt himſelf are only ſlightly handled, or ridiculed, and incredible Suppoſitions inſiſted on to leſſen the Belief of an Hiſtorical Account of Matters of Fact.

Next we ſhall conſider, that his Chronological Table conſiſting of real Truths, as well as Impoſitions, thoſe impoſitious Relations ought not to leſſen the Belief of real Truths; ſince, as we noted before, Counterfeits and Realities ought, and may eaſily be diſtinguiſhed.

We ſhall next ſhew the ill Conſequences of the delays in putting legal Juſtice in Execution, by committing all Judgment to the Righteous Judge after Death, where we ſhall make it appear, that his own Poſitions are Arguments againſt himſelf.

We ſhall further take Notice, that the Reaſons he offers for the Decreaſe of Witches, are erroneous; Puniſhment rather diſcouraging that vitious Practice; and though there are as many Devils now, yet either they are undiſcovered, or act after different Methods; former Practices being diſcouraged and detected by Laws, and terrify'd by Proſecutions; nor is there any Reaſon the Devils ſhould be ſuppoſed to have forſaken our Age, the Vices of this preſent exceeding the Crimes of former Ages.

Next we ſhall make it appear, that what he ſays of the Power of Spirits, and Tranſmutation, or Transformation, is confuted by the Teſtimony of Scripture, and our Saviour's Miracles, where Spirits acted in Human Bodies, and afterwards in a Herd of Swine; and then we ſhall farther make it appear, that he perverts the Senſe of Scripture and Providence, and contradicts himſelf.

Next, tho' he endeavours to leſſen the Credit and Belief of the Actions of Spirits, by charging them with often acting fooliſhly, we ſhall make it appear, that this ought not to gain the Advantage he propoſes, but is an Argument on our Side, and anſwers for the Confirmation of the Truth of ſome Relations, that might otherwiſe ſeem ridiculous, ſince we find that the wiſeſt of Spirits have acted fooliſhly, as in making War againſt Heaven, and tempting our Saviour, as well as in other Actions which we ſhall recite.

In the next Place, we ſhall conſider his Negative Rules, which ſeem to be calculated in favour of thoſe deteſtable Practices. We ſhall further conſider the remaining Part of his Book, and repreſent the Weakneſs of his Arguments; and laſtly, take a View of his Sermons.

Having thus finiſhed the firſt Part, and examined what the Author hath ſaid in reſpect of Witchcraft, we ſhall next proceed to the Second Part, where we ſhall further ſhew, that to determine the Power and Poſſibility of Witchcraft, we are to conſider:

Firſt, The Nature of Subſtance, Material and Immaterial.

Secondly, That Immaterial Subſtances may alter Matter, and affect Human Bodies.

The Poſſibility of which we ſhall prove by Obſervations in Natural Philoſophy. We ſhall likewiſe conſider the Teſtimony of Scripture in both Old and New Teſtament, to prove the Effects of evil Spirits, with Metaphyſical Arguments.

And to ſhew further the Power of Immaterial Subſtances over Matter, and how the latter may be affected by the former, we ſhall conſider the Works of the Macrocoſm, and compare them with thoſe of the Microcoſm, in the Formation of the Univerſe, and Human Bodies, and Obſervations in both, contrary to the common Laws of Nature.

A Vin-

A Vindication of a Compleat Hiſtory of Magick, Sorcery, *and* Witchcraft, *&c.*

In Anſwer to

Dr. *Hutchinſon*'s HISTORICAL ESSAY.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

Containing Remarks on what he hath ſaid in his Dedication.

THE Author of this *Hiſtorical Eſſay*, in the beginning of his *Dedication*, tells us, that his Collections and Obſervations had lain by him ſeveral Years; and, it may be had ſtill ſlept in Obſcurity, if a new Book, which very likely might do ſome Miſchief, had not lately come forth in Two Volumes, under the Pompous Title of a *Compleat Hiſtory of Magick, Sorcery and Witchcraft.*

I am obliged to the Learned Doctor for the Pompous Repreſentation he makes of ſo compleat a Hiſtory, and am glad he eſteemed it ſo powerful, as to wake his Collections and Obſervations out of their ſecure Obſcurity; yet from what I ſhall offer, I do believe they might have as well ſlept on, ſince that new Book was very unlikely to do Miſchief, but might rather be hindred from doing Good, by the Oppoſition of his rouzed Obſervations, and which to me ſeem of a more miſchievous Kind. To determine this, we are to conſider further what the Doctor hath ſaid againſt our Hiſtory, or in Favour of his own Eſſay.

Page the Second, he ſays, "I think it a Point "very certain, that tho' the ſober Belief of good "and bad Spirits is an Eſſential Part of every good "Chriſtian's Faith, yet Imaginary Communications "with them, have been the Spring both of the "worſt Corruptions of Religion, and the greateſt "Perverſions of Juſtice." This is a very ſevere Reflection, eſpecially ſince he ſays it is our Hiſtory is likely to do ſome (which we take to be this) Miſchief. In Vindication therefore of what I have wrote againſt this Charge, I ſhall aſk the Learned Doctor, whether, if a good Chriſtian is to believe the Exiſtence of good and bad Spirits, he is not alſo to believe, that good Spirits may do Good, and bad Spirits do Miſchief; and whether, if they can produce good or evil Effects, they can do and execute their ill Deſigns, without a Communication with thoſe Bodies they act upon? Now, ſince they cannot be good or bad without good or bad Actions, their Actions denominating them one or the other, they conſequently muſt have a Communication; but theſe are not imaginary Communications, but real ones; and theſe real evil Communications may produce evil Effects; yet the Belief of their Exiſtence and Communication cannot produce

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ill Effects, though their acting by Communication may; Inſtances of which our Hiſtory conſiſts of; yet we think ſuch Inſtances unlikely to do Miſchief, being, as our Author owns, the Belief of every good Chriſtian.

Now if the Communications of evil Spirits may do Evil, they may corrupt Religion, by perverting the Actions of the Flock, or influencing the Shepherd, which is a certain way to corrupt Religion, and hath too often taken Place; but they cannot pervert Juſtice, without making an ill Judge or Jury; for Juſtice may take Place upon a Criminal, notwithſtanding an evil Communication with the Perſon, which is an Evidence of the Perſon's Guilt; ſo that a Criminal may be influenced with an ill Spirit, and Juſtice only taking Place, cannot be ſaid to be perverted; nor is Religion concerned, where Juſtice is only put in Execution.

But our Author ſays, Imaginary Communications corrupt Religion and pervert Juſtice; to which I anſwer, That ſince what is only in Imagination cannot be real Actions, they cannot produce real Effects, and conſequently cannot affect either Religion or Juſtice, having no Effect at all. Beſides, ſuppoſing we ſhould believe Things to be true, which are not, this conſiſting with ſober Belief of good and bad Spirits, muſt come under the eſſential Part of a good Chriſtian, and conſequently cannot corrupt Religion, tending to the ſame Effect with Realities, in reſpect of ſober Belief, though the Judgment may be deceived, in diſtinguiſhing Realities from imaginary Communications; ſo that imaginary Communications having the ſame Effect upon the Mind, do not alter the Diſpoſition of the Mind, but act upon it as Realities, having an equal and parallel Influence; nor can imaginary Communications pervert Juſtice, ſince they are too weak to byaſs Judgment, which every Judge, I hope, may be en-

dowed with: But if through the Weakneſs of Judgment, they cannot diſtinguiſh betwixt Realities and Imaginations, they muſt either be unfit for the Judgment Seat; or imaginary Communications muſt be ſo like Realities, that they cannot be diſtinguiſhed, and then the Judge is ſtill ſuppoſed in the Right, becauſe the Caſe carries moral Poſſibility along with it, which is ſufficient to gain Aſſent, and juſtify that Judgment, which appearing to be morally Good, cannot be erroneous, or ſaid to be perverted.

He further ſays, "How many miſerable Creatures have been hanged or burnt, as Witches and Wizards in other Countries, and former Ages? In our Nation, even ſince the Reformation, above a Hundred and Forty have been executed, very much upon the Account of one ill tranſlated Text of Scripture." To which I anſwer, that if they were executed upon moral Proof, that amounts to Certainty, and conſequently that Judgment muſt carry Truth along with it, and the Criminals muſt receive juſt Condemnation; which proves Witches and Wizards miſerable Creatures, as the Author ſtiles them.

But if they were executed upon the Account of an ill tranſlated Text of Scripture, their fatal Ends were owing to the Neglect and Careleſneſs of thoſe who ought to take Care of the Tranſlations, and not ſuffer the World to be miſled and miſinformed through their Miſtakes; ſo that whatever Miſcarriages happen upon that Account, are owing to ſuch as ſuffer ſuch Tranſlations to be printed and publiſhed; and Religion and Juſtice muſt be perverted by thoſe Perſons, not by the Communications of Spirits, or the Belief of them; and then the Author brings his own Function in Guilty, and not the Righteous Judgment, nor the Hiſtory of Hiſtorical Truths. But ſince the Author does not make that Aſſertion, or produce that ill Tranſlation, this Accuſation muſt

turn

turn upon himſelf; which being wrongfully charged, muſt either tend to pervert Juſtice, or corrupt thoſe ſettled Notions of Religion, which depend upon our Faith, grounded upon Texts of Scripture, as they are publiſhed to the World.

He further ſays, " If the ſame Notions were to " prevail again, no Man's Life would be ſafe in his " Houſe; for the fantaſtick Doctrines, that ſupport " the vulgar Opinions of *Witchcraft*, rob us of all " the Defences that God and Nature have placed, for " our Security againſt falſe Accuſations." To which I anſwer, that the Notions of *Witchcraft* can hurt no Man's Life, without moral Proof; nor do they rob us of the Defences for our Security; for the fantaſtick Doctrines, as I ſaid before, are too weak to prove real Communications; and imaginary ones can do no Harm, being inſufficient to raiſe Belief; nor can falſe Accuſations eaſily take away our Security, ſince the Characters of good and bad Men, as well as their Actions, eaſily diſtinguiſh them, and ſhew whether they are influenced by good or evil Angels. If they are good, *their Light will ſo ſhine before Men, that they ſeeing their good Works*, will not eaſily ſuſpect them to be guilty of bad ones; and will take off the Force of ſuch falſe Accuſations; whereas evil Men, who do the Works of Darkneſs, muſt be miſled by evil Angels, and their Works will diſcover what manner of Men they are. The Circumſtances of Actions aſſiſt in the Judgment of moral Credit; and the Reputation of the Accuſed, as well as of the Accuſers, goes a great way in laying the Foundations of firm Belief; ſo that a Judge and Jury cannot eaſily be miſtaken, when Circumſtances are well weighed and conſidered.

He further ſays, that " In Proſecutions for *Witch-* " *craft*, if any wicked Perſon affirms, or any " crack'd-brained Girl imagines, or any lying Spirit " makes her believe that ſhe ſees any old Woman,

" or other Perſon, purſuing her in her Viſions, the " Defenders of the vulgar *Witchcraft*, tack an ima- " ginary, unproved Compact to the Depoſition." To which I anſwer, that the Reputation of Evidences may eaſily be diſcovered by the Neighbourhood they live in; and it may eaſily be diſtinguiſhed by a Judge, what Credit is to be given to their Teſtimony, and by Circumſtances, how far the Perſons accuſed, may deſerve and merit the Accuſation laid to their Charges. As for Brainſick Perſons, thoſe are commonly known by Men of Judgment in Phyſick, who ought to be conſulted in ſuch Caſes; and they muſt be mad themſelves, or ſenſeleſs, that cannot diſtinguiſh diſtracted Perſons from ſuch as are poſſeſſed with Devils. But at the ſame Time the Doctor ſuppoſes the Girl Brainſick, he acknowledges a lying Spirit may make her believe what ſhe affirms, which is an acknowledgment of Poſſeſſions, though he pretends to argue againſt them; ſo that he is obliged to allow, what he would argue impoſſible and imaginary, to ſupport his Aſſertion; a ſtrange way of arguing.

He ſays, " Sickly Viſions——are grounded upon " the Dregs of Pagan and Popiſh Superſtitions." But if they are ſickly Viſions, I ſuppoſe them to be grounded upon Diſtempered Brains, which are different from other kind of Viſions; and which when real, cannot be ſaid to be grounded upon Pagan or Popiſh Superſtitions, except he will affirm that the Bible is Paganiſm or Popiſh; ſince both the Old and the New Teſtament witneſs what Matters of Importance have often been diſcovered by Viſions in Dreams, as in *Ezek.* 13. 16. *The Prophets of Iſrael, which propheſy concerning Jeruſalem, and which ſee Viſions of Peace.* Likewiſe *Hoſea* 12. 10. we find the following Expreſſions, *I have alſo ſpoken by the Prophets, and I have multiplied Viſions, and uſed Similitudes by the Miniſtry of the Prophets.* Again,

Joel 2. 28. *I will pour out my Spirit upon all Flesh, and your Sons and your Daughters shall Prophesy; your old Men shall dream Dreams, and your young Men shall see Visions.* And 2 *Cor.* 12. 1. *I will come to Visions and Revelations.* Where we find that Visions have been frequent both in the Old and New Testament, which were neither the Effects of sickly and distracted Brains, nor are grounded upon Paganism, nor Popish Superstitions; Suggestions below the Dignity of one, who must be well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures.

He further adds, that "As the very Nature of "the Subject carries both Horror and Difficulty, po-"lite Men, and great Lovers of Ease, will turn "away their Thoughts from it with Disdain." Here the Doctor hath different Thoughts from any I ever retained; for I always thought that Men of polite Learning were seldom Lovers of Ease, or frighted with the Horror of a difficult Subject, but commonly employ the greatest Industry on such Occasions.

The next Page, speaking of the Prosecution of *Witches*, he says, "That though the common Pro-"secution of *Witches* was a sad Impiety, the greatest "Part of the Clergy winked at it, and let it pass:" And soon after he adds, "Though Reverence to "our Acts of Parliament, and the Influence of an "ill translated Text, and fear of loose People car-"rying the Notion too far the other way, may "have made some pious Men too fearful in oppo-"sing the vulgar Opinions, yet in the main, I be-"lieve our Church of *England*, and its Clergy, have "as little to answer for as any." How our learned Author can call the Prosecution of *Witches* a sad Impiety, I do not well understand; except the Works of that Diabolical Spirit, by whose Power they act, include Piety; then indeed it is impious to discourage vitious and evil Practices, and those Actions

which

which we commonly call Good, muſt be impious. It will be neceſſary then to change the common Signification of thoſe Two Words, Pious and Impious, and what we call Evil muſt be called Good, and Good Evil; and then it will be a Sin to do what is Good, and meritorious to commit Wickedneſs: But otherwiſe, if it be impious to puniſh ill Practices, it muſt be Piety to Sin, and by this Rule we muſt worſhip Satan, and deſpiſe our Maker. But I find the greateſt Part of the Clergy were of a different Mind, and rather choſe to encourage the Puniſhment of thoſe evil Practices, and Works of abominable Tranſgreſſors.

And I am glad, that a due Reverence and Regard to an Act of Parliament, and the dangerous Conſequence of carrying the Notion too far the other way, yet influences ſome pious Men from encouraging ſuch Miſtakes, as this contrary Opinion, which the Doctor eſpouſes, might bring us into; for if ſuch wicked Practices were once conniv'd at, the Conſequences would be much more fatal, than the Puniſhment of Witchcraft can prove impious.

To determine then, whether the Puniſhment of Witchcraft, or the Connivance at it, would be of the worſt Conſequence, we ſhall conſider briefly the Inconveniences on both ſides.

And firſt, if that deteſtable Practice be puniſh'd, it muſt, as in all other criminal Caſes, deter all Evil-doers from purſuing the like: Nor can it be any Crime to inflict ſuch Puniſhments, where there is Legal and Moral Proof; and the Laws will reſtrain them from what their obdurated Conſciences cannot be a ſufficient Guard.

Whereas, on the contrary, if the World was let looſe to perpetrate and commit all manner of Evil, as the Devil and their own Inclinations would ſuggeſt, it would ſoon be over-run with the worſt of vicious Practices, and Witchcraft would ſoon be as

rife as ever. I have heard it reported, that it was, and perhaps is, a Scheme of the *Romans*, to debauch this Nation in their Principles, that they may be ready to receive any new Impreſſions, and change their Religion upon any offer'd Occaſion; whereas, if their Conſciences are tender, and their Principles unſhaken, they will be apt to adhere to their firſt receiv'd Maxims and Tenets. This Project hath already too much taken place; and I wiſh the Church of *England*, and its Clergy, may have little to anſwer for in this Reſpect.

Now if the Sins of Witchcraft, and other ſuch like Crimes, are diſcouraged, and their Practices expoſed and laid open, the Terror of ſuch Crimes will make the Vulgar fear the Devil and his Works, and with more Earneſtneſs implore the Divine Aſſiſtance to withſtand them; ſo that we think our Hiſtory may be leſs miſchievous than our Author's *Hiſtorical Eſſay*.

Before we leave our Author's *Dedication*, we ſhall further obſerve, that he takes notice of a Canon, which "ſubjects to the Penalties of Impoſture, any "Clergyman who ſhould undertake to uſe Prayers "for Caſting out of Devils." But we find in Scripture, that our Saviour neither diſcouraged his Diſciples, nor any body elſe, from ſuch Practices, if they did it in his Name. He caſt out Devils himſelf, and ſuffer'd others to do the like; being accounted an Impoſtor himſelf, yet branding not others with that ignominious Title: Inſtances of which, we ſhall be ſufficiently furniſh'd with in Scripture. *Matth.* 12. 22. *There was brought unto him one poſſeſſed with a Devil, blind and dumb, and he healed him; inſomuch that the blind and dumb both ſpake and ſaw.* --- 24. *But when the Phariſees heard it, they ſaid, This fellow doth not caſt out Devils, but by Beelzebub, Prince of the Devils.* To which he anſwers, v. 27. *If I by Beelzebub caſt out Devils, by whom do*

your

your Children caſt them out? Again, *Mark* 9. 38. When *John* told our Saviour, *Maſter, we ſaw one caſting out Devils in thy name; and we forbad him, becauſe he followeth not us; Jeſus*, v. 39. *ſaid, Forbid him not:* And further declares, *v.* 40. For *he that is not againſt us, is on our Part*; giving his Reaſons why they ſhould not be hinder'd from doing good.

There is one Thing more in his *Dedication*, which we ſhall take notice of, which is in Favour of his *Eſſay*, as he ſuppoſes, but I think very little to the Purpoſe: He ſays, that "any that ſhall be diſpoſed "to find Faults, may ſee, that the Notions in my "Book are neither new, nor contrary to the Do-"ctrines of our Church, but well agreeing with the "Opinions of the greateſt Men that have been of "it. I will quote at large ſome Paſſages out of his "Declaration of *Popiſh* Impoſtures.

How far his Notions are agreeable with Reaſon or Religion, may in a great meaſure appear from what we have already ſaid, and will further appear from what follows in the enſuing Papers: And that it may appear, what little Service his Quotations will do him, we will, to conclude this Chapter, in the next place take notice of ſome of thoſe Paſſages, and examine how agreeable they are with Reaſon or Scripture, which is the Foundation of our Church's Belief.

The firſt is as follows: "It is a Queſtion mov'd by "*Scaliger*, Why Men of a melancholy Conſtitu-"tion be more ſubject to Fancies, Fears and Ima-"ginations of Devils and Witches, than other "Tempers be? His Anſwer is, Becauſe from their "black and ſooty Blood, gloomy fuliginous Spirits "fume into their Brain, which bring black, gloomy, "and frightful Images, Repreſentations and Simili-"tudes in them." That the Diſorders of the Blood will affect the Spirits, and produce melancholy Symptoms in the Spirits, no body can deny; it being well

well known both to Phyſicians and others: But theſe Diſorders are much different from thoſe that are occaſioned by the Influence of evil Spirits; which will appear both from the Relations contained in our *Hiſtory of Witchcraft*, and the Teſtimony of Scripture, which we ſhall preſently recite.

We ſhall take notice of one Paſſage more, which is, "That Devils may transform themſelves into any "Shape, either of Beaſt, or Men, *&c.*

Theſe Paſſages, which the Author eſteems ſo much to his Advantage, are only ridiculous Relations, in ſome meaſure banter'd and ridicul'd, without any Reaſons offer'd to the contrary; ſo that the Doctor hath only endeavour'd to leſſen the Value, and queſtion the Truth of real Matters of Fact, and would repreſent innocent and well atteſted Relations odious, by ſlighting Impoſitions or Stories, not worthy to be taken notice of.

Yet to prove that evil Spirits may torture Bodies, and by acting in different manners, may even alter the Temper and Diſpoſitions of them; we ſhall produce the Teſtimony of Scripture, to confirm what we have related in our *Hiſtory*.

That Spirits may alter, and after different manners torture human Bodies, and even Beaſts, is evident from the Teſtimony of Scripture: *Mark* 9. 17. *One of the multitude anſwered and ſaid, Maſter, I have brought unto thee my Son, who hath a dumb Spirit: And whereſoever he taketh him, he teareth him; and he foameth, and gnaſheth with his teeth, and pineth away; and I ſpake to thy Diſciples, that they ſhould caſt him out, and they could not:* But, v. 20. *they brought him unto him; and when he ſaw him, ſtraightway the Spirit tare him, and he fell on the ground, and wallowed, foaming. And he asked his Father, how long is it ago ſince this came unto him? And he ſaid, Of a Child. And oftentimes it hath caſt him into the fire, and into the water, to deſtroy him:* But, v. 25.

Jeſus

Jeſus rebuked the foul Spirit, and ſaid unto him, Thou deaf and dumb Spirit, I charge thee come out of him, and enter no more into him. And the Spirit cried, and rent him ſore, and came out of him, and he was as one dead; inſomuch that many ſaid, he is dead. But Jeſus lifted him up, and he aroſe. And a Verſe or two after, he declares to his Diſciples, that *this Sort was caſt out only by Prayer and Faſting.*

To this we may add the Seven Devils, which he caſt out of *Mary Magdalen*, and eſpecially that moſt remarkable Story, *Mark* 5. v. 2, &c. *And when he was come out of the Ship, immediately there met him out of the Tombs, a man with an unclean Spirit; who had his dwelling amongſt the Tombs, and no man could bind him, no not with chains: Becauſe that he had been often bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been plucked aſunder by him, and the fetters broken in pieces; neither could any man tame him. And always night and day he was in the Mountains, and in the Tombs, crying and cutting himſelf with ſtones. But when he ſaw Jeſus afar off, he ran and worſhipped him; and cried with a loud voice, and ſaid, What have I to do with thee, Jeſus, thou Son of the moſt High God? I adjure thee by God, that thou torment me not. For he ſaid unto him, Come out of the man, thou unclean Spirit. And he asked him, What is thy name? And he anſwered, ſaying, My name is Legion, for we are many: And he beſought him much, that he would not ſend him away out of that Country. Now there was nigh unto the Mountains, a great herd of Swine feeding; and all the Devils beſought him, ſaying, Send us into the Swine, that we may enter into them. And forthwith Jeſus gave them leave; and the unclean Spirit went out, and enter'd into the Swine; and the herd ran violently down a ſteep place into the Sea;* (they were

were about Two Thouſand) and were choaked in the Sea.

From all which Relations it appears, that evil Spirits may not only torment and rack, and pine away human Bodies, but alſo poſſeſs even the Bodies of Brutes, and conſequently appear in the Shape of different Creatures.

Now, however the Doctor may ſlight and contemn, or ridicule common Relations, or ſuch as are proved by Moral Poſſibility, yet I hope Divine Teſtimony may be truſted to; or we muſt deſtroy all the Foundations of Religion and Eccleſiaſtical Government, and reduce the World to its original Blindneſs, and its priſtine State of Ignorance.

Having thus far taken notice of what the Learned Doctor hath ſaid in his *Dedication*; it may, from what we have offer'd, ſufficiently appear, whether our *Hiſtory*, or his *Eſſay*, is likely to do moſt Miſchief; what we have related being of a like kind, and tending to a Confirmation of the ſame Belief with theſe Divine Hiſtories; whereas, what he hath ſaid, ſeems to have a contrary Tendency, leſſening the Credit of ſuch Things, the Belief of which helps to ſtrengthen our Faith.

We ſhall, in the next place, proceed to examine his Book, and ſee what he hath offer'd in Favour of his invaluable Notions; looking upon this ſpecious Frontiſpice, as a Specimen of a great deal of Satisfaction within.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Containing ſome Remarks on the Firſt Chapter of his Hiſtorical Eſſay.

BEing ſome Years out of *England*, ſince I wrote Two Volumes, entituled, *A Compleat Hiſtory of Magick, Sorcery, and Witchcraft*; I had not, till of late, the Opportunity of ſeeing a Book, wrote ſince that Time, call'd, *An Hiſtorical Eſſay of Witchcraft*, which ſeems to be chiefly levelled at that *Hiſtory*. How far the Learned Author hath gain'd the Advantage, may, in a great meaſure, appear from what hath been ſaid in the firſt Chapter, with reſpect to his *Dedication*; I ſhall next proceed to conſider what appears in the Body of his *Eſſay*.

Upon viewing the firſt Chapter of this *Eſſay*, I perceive the Author hath laid his Scheme with a great deal of Art and Skill; being publiſh'd by way of Dialogue, betwixt Two of his Friends and himſelf; they have treated him with a great deal of Reſpect, and he hath return'd it with a great deal of Civility; they neither puzzling him with too ſtrong Arguments, nor he confounding of them with too much Reaſon.

I am ſorry I had not the Happineſs to be at that Conference, ſince too much modeſt Civility on both Sides, ſeems to have handled the Cauſe with too much Indifferency. The Juryman was unſkilled, the Advocate from Home, and oblig'd to be civil; ſo that they have given up the Cauſe without much Difficulty. Had I been there, I ſhould have deſired a little more Liberty, which might have occaſion'd more ſatisfactory Anſwers; but ſince I was not there, I hope the Doctor will not take it amiſs, if I let him know

know what I have to ſay on that Subject, and wherein I think what he hath ſaid inſufficient. As for his Two Friends, I ſhall not ſay much to them; for ſince they have given up the Argument ſo eaſily, they are likely to do me little Service, and therefore I make bold to ſpeak for my ſelf.

After ſome Compliments, which we have no Occaſion for here, the Doctor adviſes, " If the Caſe " be not very plain, ſave Life." In this he is right; for except there be moral Proof, it would be Injuſtice and Murther to take any body's Life away. But I ſhould have thought, that as a Divine is not concern'd in Common Law, he ſhould have ſaid, If they be guilty, ſave Life, that they may *repent and live*; God not willing *the Death of a Sinner, but rather that he ſhould repent and live*: But if they will not repent, they are not fit to live; Life being, by God's Preſcription, only granted, that Repentance might precede, and make 'em fit for it: Therefore, without Repentance, they are not fit to live, and conſequently ought to dye, according to Law. *Deut.* 30. v. 15, &c. *See, this day I have ſet before thee life and good, and death and evil: But if thine heart turn away, ſo that thou wilt not hear, but ſhalt be drawn away, and worſhip other gods, and ſerve them; I denounce unto you this day, that ye ſhall ſurely periſh, and that you ſhall not prolong your days upon the Land.*

We are of the ſame Opinion with the Doctor, the Innocent ought not to be puniſh'd, but the Guilty; and therefore we did not undertake to cenſure Impoſitions, but to relate True Hiſtories; the Authors of which ought to to be puniſh'd, as dealing with evil Spirits, and inhumanly with their Fellow-Creatures.

The next Thing we ſhall take notice of, is, *Pag.* 3. where the Doctor hath choſe a Child with Fits to be the Subject debated on; and ſays, " That the afflict-" ed Perſon falls into Fits, as ſoon as the Woman " is brought into the Room where ſhe is." To ſolve this,

this, he aſks ſome Queſtions, which neither he nor any body elſe anſwers; and upon that makes ſome Suppoſitions, upon which he grounds this Concluſion: "That if ſome fooliſh young Women, by ly-"ing Stories, or otherwiſe, are made as fearful of "this poor Creature, (*i. e.* a Witch,) as this Girl "was (ſuppoſed to be) of a Spirit; is it any won-"der ſhe falls into Fits when ſhe ſees her?" To which I anſwer, that the Doctor loves ſuppoſitious Arguments better than imaginary Communications, which I take to be ſynonymous Terms in this Caſe: But ſuppoſing the Caſe to be real, the Fright muſt be with ſome Surprize and Suddenneſs, to occaſion great Diſorders, eſpecially ſuch as are occaſioned by the Influence of evil Spirits: Nor hath the Doctor aſſign'd what Fits theſe are, and therefore ſuppoſitious both in reſpect of the Propoſer and the Anſwerer: But taking them as propoſed, the Symptoms differ much from ſuch as evil Spirits occaſion; the former being Phyſical, having known Symptoms; the latter contrary to what naturally attend Diſtempers.

But he ſays, (for I take the Advocate, the Juryman, and the Clergyman, to be the ſame Perſon; tho' Clergymen are ſeldom upon a Jury, or plead at the Bar;) "Many afflicted Perſons fall into Fits, "when the ſuppoſed Witch hath been brought in, ſo "as the Party hath not ſeen her." After ſome curious Suppoſitions, and a Queſtion not belonging to the Subject, (as being foreign) he ſays, "Some Scent, "or ſecret Communication of Spirits, are the com-"mon Ground of all ſuch Antipathies." If Scents at ſuch a Diſtance could have any great Effects, they muſt be ſo ſtrong as to be perceived by the Standers-by, tho' they could not produce ſuch Effect upon them: If the Influence of Spirits, the Spirits muſt be evil, that cauſe ſuch pernicious Symptoms; which is what we contend for.

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He further ſays; " *Pliny*, and many others alſo " ſuppoſe, theſe ill Scents may be to the Degree of " Venom and Infection : And we need not won- " der at it ; for every malignant Fever makes any " of us venomous, for the Time it laſts." To which I anſwer ; That when Scents amount to the Degree of Venom and Infection, that Infection extends to more than one ſingle Perſon : And when malignant Fevers are venomous, the venomous Perſon who infects the reſt, is always troubled with the like Symptoms before. Therefore theſe Arguments are but weak and trivial, and inſufficient to deſtroy the received Opinion of Witches ; which act after different manners, according to the Natures of thoſe evil Spirits ; as our Saviour ſaid, *Theſe Sort are only caſt out by Faſting and Prayer :* Whereas Fits which depend only upon Phyſical Cauſes, have much like Symptoms in all ; thoſe being their proper Diagnoſticks, or Marks, by which they are diſtinguiſhed.

Pag. 5. He ſays, " The bare Fits make the leaſt " Part of the Wonder ; they tell of ſtrange Acti- " ons." If any other or particular Symptoms attended the ſuppoſed Fits, (which he neither deſcribes as a Phyſician, nor anſwers as a Philoſopher) they ought to be made known, that the Reader might judge of the Nature of the Caſe ; but the Doctor, inſtead of enquiring into that, and ſtating the Caſe, fairly proceeds ;

" And yet they may be natural Fits and Vapours " for all that." And they may be Dæmoniacal Fits, for ought any body can tell ; yet they ſeem to be imaginary Communications, being not deſcrib'd.

But to proceed : He ſays, " When ſome Sort of " Fits (which are undoubtedly natural) continue, " they alter the Habit of the Body ; whence many " times there grows a lurking, intermitting Fever " and *Delirium*, or particular Madneſs ; and then " their Fancies and ſtrange Symptoms are more ſur-

" prizing.

" prizing. There are marvellous Effects, both in " their Minds, Eyes, Ears, Voices, and the whole " Body.

That ſome Sort of Fits will, tho' natural, by their Continuance, alter the Habit of the Body, is certain; and ſo will any: But I would fain know, of what Sort of Fits we are talking? If natural, they belong to Phyſical Diſcourſes; if from Witchcraft they take their Riſe, or evil Spirits, they are ſuch as I mention in my Hiſtory of *Witchcraft*, of which there are ſeveral Kinds: But if we ſpeak of natural Fits, we ought to diſtinguiſh what Kind of Fits we ſpeak of, from whence the above-mention'd Symptoms may flow; they being not well known amongſt Phyſicians, nor publiſhed in any of their Writings.

He ſays, " Their Minds will ſometimes be ſo " clouded, and oppreſſed, and dull, that they think " themſelves dead." This indeed is a new Obſervation, and the World is mightily obliged to the Doctor for communicating it. I have known Hyſterick and Hypochondriack Perſons fancy themſelves a dying, or in Danger; but when once they fancy themſelves dead, they muſt fancy themſelves paſt Thinking, or ſpeaking their Thoughts.

The reſt of the Fifth and Sixth Pages is fill'd with Hypochondriack Diſcourſe about the Symptoms of that Diſtemper; but there is a great deal of Difference betwixt the Symptoms of Hyſterick and Hypochondriack Perſons, and thoſe which attend the ſupernatural Effects of evil Spirits and Witchcraft; the firſt denominating that Phyſical Caſe, the latter the Reſults of ſupernatural Powers.

P. 7. He ſays, " Convulſive Motions turn their " Heads, as if their Necks were broken; draw their " Mouths on one ſide, wring their Arms out of " Joint, turn their Eyes inward, and make them " lamentable Spectacles." Theſe are Obſervations ſo uncom-

uncommon, that they are impoſſible: For, firſt, if their Heads were turn'd as they are when their Necks are ſaid to be broke, the ſame Conſequences would follow, and Death muſt enſue; the Circulation of the Spirits, as well as Reſpiration, being hinder'd by ſuch Diſlocations. When the Mouth is drawn aſide by Convulſions, it commonly continues ſo, the oppoſite Muſcles being relaxed, and is called a *Spaſmus Gynicus*: Nor can Diſlocations be occaſioned by the moſt forcible Contraction of any Muſcles.

He further ſays, "If Blood be extravaſated ſlowly, the Heat of the Stomach in a little Time may "form it into odd Figures, that when they are vomited may ſeem very ſurprizing. Or if it hath "received any Seed, or Spawn, the Heat and Nouriſhment may produce the Animal." All theſe Things are ſtrange, and appear much more like Impoſitions, than the moſt unlikely Relation in our *Hiſtory of Witchcraft*; and they that believe them, muſt have ſome of the Doctor's melancholy Symptoms above-mention'd, or be bewitch'd. I will not ſay, but Blood will be clotted by the Heat of the Stomach, and thoſe Clots will be of an uncertain Figure; and vomiting of Blood is ſurprizing at any rate; but how Animals ſhould be hatch'd in the Stomach, is moſt incredible, ſince the Heat and Ferment of the Stomach would diſſolve them in pieces, if they were hatched. How ſtrangely it would grieve a Man, to have his Stomach peck'd in pieces by a Chick, upon ſwallowing a new-laid Egg; or to have his Body open'd after Death, to ſearch for an Oyſter-Bank!

He proceeds: "Pins and Needles, that have been "ſwallowed long before, will work their way to the "outward Parts of the Body, and be taken out of "the Perſon's Sides, or Thighs." Such like Stories have indeed been told by ancient Phyſicians, who were

were credulous, and related what they only received by Hearſay. If ſuch Stories were true, the Stomach and Guts, as well as other Parts, muſt be wounded, and occaſion violent Symptoms and Death, before ſuch Penetration could be made: And it is equally as likely, that a Man ſhould vomit up his Toes, as that Pins ſhould paſs from the Stomach to the Thighs. If the Doctor can believe ſuch Relations, which the Nature of Bodies, and the Anatomy of the Parts diſproves, I wonder he has as much Averſion to the Belief of Witches as ſome have to their Actions, which may be confirmed by Moral Proof and Reaſon.

Yet to improve the Hypochondriack Stories before noted, he adds, *Page* 8. "We have a great many other Matters to conſider of. One is, the great "Addition that will be made to the ſtrangeneſs of "ſuch Caſes, if the Perſons themſelves give their "Minds to thoſe Things, that will increaſe the "Wonder, ——too many go a great way further, "even to a wicked Management of their own Di-"ſtempers, and counterfeiting Symptoms that their "Diſeaſes did not occaſion." There are indeed too many, that upon ſlight Occaſions diſſemble themſelves worſe than they are; but thoſe who have ſuch Symptoms as the Doctor mentions, muſt be ſo bad, that they need not, if able, deſire to make themſelves ſeem worſe, it being neither Pleaſure nor Advantage; beſides, in Hypochondriack Diſeaſes, their Thoughts are ſo much depraved, and their Minds ſo much diſordered, that they are very unfit for counterfeiting and making themſelves ill; it would be much more Satisfaction and Pleaſure, if they could counterfeit and diſſemble themſelves well; a diſordered Brain is very unfit and incapable of Policy, and they can ſcarce deceive others, who cannot undeceive themſelves. A Man in his right Senſes, and who hath his Reaſon and Wit at Will,

cannot

cannot act the Part of a Hypochondriack Perſon ſo naturally, but that he may be diſtinguiſhed from one in a real Diſtemper; much leſs can we ſuppoſe, that he who hath his Mind ſo much diſcompoſed and diſordered, ſhould act the Part of him that hath an Evil Spirit or a Devil in him, there being a great deal of Difference betwixt preternatual and ſupernatural Actions and Symptoms. So that all the Art the Doctor can uſe, will not make the Symptoms that perplex Hypochondriacal Perſons, amount to the Degree in which People poſſeſſed or bewitched are tortured and tormented. There is a vaſt difference to diſtinguiſh them.

He adds, " Though a Diſtemper at firſt be ſurpri-
" zing, and puts the afflicted Perſons beyond their
" Thoughts of Tricking, yet a little Time makes
" them familiar with their Calamity; and when
" they find themſelves come ſafe out of ſtrange Fits,
" and begin to have the Uſe of their Thoughts
" while they are in them, and hear what Judg-
" ments are made of their Caſe, they manage their
" Calamity to ſerve their own Intereſt." It is very unlikely, that when a Man hath been long out of his Senſes, and almoſt at Death's Door, he ſhould be capable of thinking cunningly at once, at a Time when he is capable of thinking nothing at all; beſides in theſe violent Fits, having, for the Time, loſt their Senſes, how ſhould they remember after what manner they were afflicted? And if the Fit hath deprived them of Memory, how ſhould they be able to act the ſame over again, as in an Epilepſy, or Falling-Sickneſs, can any body well act the Symptoms of it? Can they make themſelves inſenſible of Pain, when prick'd or cut? Can they counterfeit froathing, tough, viſcid Phlegm, when there is none in their Stomach? Or can they fain thoſe preternatural Sweats, or violent Tranſpiration, which continue frequently in the Fit. In the Time of the Fit,

violent Convulsions resemble extraordinary Strength, the Muscles then forcibly contracting; but when a Man is well, how can he counterfeit that extraordinary Strength? He then can use no more than what naturally belongs to him.

But the Doctor says, *Page 9.* he will bring Instances to favour his Thoughts; such, says he, "As I "have either read in sober Authors, or heard "from very good Hands." If Reading is sufficient Proof to gain Assent, why does he not believe what is writ in our History of *Witchcraft*, which was collected from very sober Authors, one no less than a King, a wise Man, and a great Scholar, which every body allowed King *James* the First to be. If only by Hearsay, though from good Hands, why might not they be imposed upon first, and consequently himself? But I perceive the Doctor believes what may serve his Opinion very easily, and will take a Friend's Word for it; but hath no Faith upon moral Proof, the Testimony of Scripture, nor the troublesome Impertinence of Reason.

But let us view his Instances; "It is common "then with such, that by long holding their Breath, "they can throw themselves into Fits when they will." But this, I hope, the Doctor does not call dissembling; for when they are in real Fits, it is past Hypocrisy, or Counterfeiting. But the Possibility of this is not consistent with the Symptoms, for there must be that viscid Phlegm which twinges the Nerves in the Stomach, to cause its convulsive Motion, and to supply that frothy Stuff discharged at the Mouth, and the Blood must have its particular Indispositions to occasion those convulsive Motions of Muscles, and violent Cramps.

His next Instance is, "By often moving and "stretching the Skin of their Heads; if the Hair be "short, they can make it stand upright, like an "angry Dog; and then they will bark and snarl,

"and

" and run upon all Four, as if they were changed " into Maſtives, ———they can ſuck up their " Breath, and draw in their Guts, till the By-ſtan- " ders can feel the Back-bone." If they can make the Hair ſtand up like an angry Dog, it muſt be as long as the angry Dog's, or it cannot be like it, and then Mens Hair is too weak commonly to ſtand an End, except new Shaved; and though they may run upon all Four, except they had Legs like Maſtives, they would look more like Monſters. As for him that could ſuck up his Guts, ſo that the By-ſtanders might feel his Back-bone; this I take to be a piece of Banter, and cannot think the Doctor would be ſo impoſed upon; yet a Man may feel his own Back-bone ſo, or if he breaks Wind, and puts his Hand behind him.

Page 10, 11, and 12, are filled with ridiculous Stories of the Art of feigning Voices, and Jugglers Tricks, which ought rather to have been printed by themſelves, for the uſe of Jugglers, and ſuch as intend to ſtudy that Art, but otherwiſe it is not worth while to take Notice of them. Every body almoſt can tell the pretty Things thoſe Artiſts amuſe them with; but may be unacquainted with the Practice of *Witchcraft*. And though the Doctor may bring theſe ſmall Arts in Queſtion, to leſſen the Credit of Hiſtorical Truths, he will come ſhort of that with any judicious Perſons, who can eaſily ſee through the Fallacy of his Deſign; for though theſe Things are Fallacious, and Impoſition, yet it does not follow that thoſe Relations are falſe, which are evident to Reaſon, morally Poſſible, and atteſted by the Authority of Scripture. Theſe trifling Stories, ſurely, will not confound the Belief of our Saviour's Miracles, who not only caſt out Devils, but hath told us the manner of their Actions, and given us an Account of their Symptoms, which we have recited in the firſt Chapter, and ſhall elſewhere in proper Places.

But if the Doctor had thought fit to leſſen the Validity of that Doctrine, ſo agreeable and conſentaneous with Hiſtories in Sacred Writings, it had been much more honourable and conſiſtent with his Function and Character, to have oppoſed them with Dint of Argument, and given a Rational Demonſtration of the Impoſſibility of Poſſeſſions, than to endeavour to gain a Cauſe, by ſlight Evaſions, and artificial Inſinuations.

Page the 13th, after a florid Acknowledgment to diſguiſe and cover the Intention of the reſt of his Writing; he ſays, " The Holy Scriptures, that are " our only ſure Rule, though they give us many " Inſtances of the Employment both of the good " and evil Spirits, they teach us none ſuch as we " commonly meet with in the modern Relations of *Witchcraft.*" Here the Doctor thinks it neceſſary to recant all his former Notions, with an artificial Evaſion. He cannot deny the various Kinds of the Miniſtration of bad Spirits, only the Inſtances of their evil Practice in modern Writings, are not ſuch as are mentioned in Scripture. To which we anſwer, that all the Relations of Poſſeſſions in Scripture are not alike, one differing much from the other in their Kind and Symptoms, according to the different Nature and Miniſtration of thoſe evil Spirits; and if the Miniſtration of Spirits and Natures differ and produce different Effects, there is very good Reaſon why modern Relations vary from thoſe, as well as from one another; the Devil and his Angels acting after various Manners, to diſguiſe their evil Practiſes, that they may paſs undiſcovered to the World; as 2 *Cor.* xi. 14. *For ſuch are falſe Apoſtles, deceitful Workers, transforming themſelves into the Apoſtles of Chriſt; and no marvel, for Satan himſelf is often transform'd into an Angel of Light:* And *Matth.* vii. 15. *Beware of falſe Prophets, which come to you in Sheeps Cloathing, but inwardly they are ravening*

ravening Wolves. So that we ſee the Devil often works under the Cloak of Sanctity, that he may be better able to war againſt Sacred Things; and if he can at this rate transform himſelf, why may he not into any other Form? Carnal Things, which belong to this World, being more under his Power, than thoſe of a Diviner Nature; and conſequently, it will be eaſier for him to appear in the Form of a Brute, or a Fowl, or a Man, than that of an Angel; for which reaſon he is deſcribed like a Beaſt, with Tail, Horns, and a cloven Foot; and as he was able to poſſeſs human Bodies as well as Brutes, whilſt our Saviour was upon Earth, why may he not communicate with Perſons of a beaſtly Nature, who refuſe the aſſiſtance of good Angels, and only make room for evil Spirits?

Page 13, and 14, he adds, "Some take Pains to "join the Scripture Relations and theſe as cloſe as "they can together, ——they are very different "Things, and upon the Credit of very different "Witneſſes, —— the Scripture Relations are wit-"neſſed by Prophets and Apoſtles, that are venerable "for Divine Virtue and Goodneſs." As for joining of them together, the Doctor need not complain of that, ſince he does more in his Diſcourſe, interlarding one with the other, ſo that it is difficult to find Coherency in the handling of the Subject, or to give direct Anſwers, without picking up Scraps at a Time, as People ſort Goods in a Warehouſe, confuſedly jumbled together; but that's the knack of Dialogue, for when Three People are talking, it will be hard for a Fourth to put in a Word; for that Reaſon I have ſorted the Expreſſions in this Page. But to the purpoſe: I think theſe not ſuch different Things as the Doctor repreſents them; for though ſome are delivered in the Bible, and ſome out; if thoſe out of it, and in another Hiſtory, be well atteſted, and appear

to be Poſſeſſions, they are of the ſame Kind; and ſince thoſe in the Bible are confirmed true Poſſeſſions, by the Teſtimony of ſuch undoubted Evidence, it adds to the Credit of Relations of the ſame kind out of the Bible; and proving the Poſſibility, adds to the Credit of thoſe Witneſſes which might otherwiſe be ſuſpected, and their Jugdment queſtioned; which nevertheleſs amounts to moral Proof and Certainty: So that all the Difference betwixt theſe Relations is, that ſome are witneſſed by the Prophets and Apoſtles, happening in their Time, and regiſter'd amongſt Sacred Hiſtories; others happening after their Time, are witneſſed by good People of thoſe Times, and good Men, though not choſen Apoſtles.

But he ſays, "The Scripture Facts ſoberly interpreted, agree with the Notions we have of God and Providence, and the Laws of Nature; whereas theſe confound the Laws of Nature, and deſtroy the Teſtimony of our Senſes, in ſome Caſes." To which I anſwer, that in this Point too, the Doctor muſt be miſtaken; for though they agree with the Notions we have of a God and Providence, ſince they ſhew the Power of ſupernatural Agents, yet they agree not with the Laws of Nature, all the Symptoms of Poſſeſſions being preternatural, and out of the common Courſe of Nature, occaſion'd by the Interpoſition of a Spiritual and Supernatural Power, as the Devil and his Agents, which gives them the Name of Poſſeſſions, and diſtinguiſhes them from natural Diſeaſes: And as for thoſe mentioned in other Hiſtories; they are equally conſiſtent with the Notion of a God and Providence, ſince they equally acknowledge a Divine Power, and proceed alike from the ſame ſupernatural Agents; and they equally diſagree with the Laws of Nature, proceeding from the like ſupernatural Cauſes; yet they deſtroy not the Teſtimony

mony of our Senſes, becauſe our Senſes teſtify and diſtinguiſh them from what is natural, and acknowledge a ſupernatural Power.

Having thus far run through the Firſt Chapter of his *Hiſtorical Eſſay*; from what we have ſaid, it may appear, that the Arguments he hath offer'd againſt the Doctrine of Witchcraft are ſlight and trivial, conſiſting more of Fallacies, and ſlight Evaſions and Inſinuations, than real and ſubſtantial Reaſons; and that he hath trump'd up ſome ridiculous Stories of cunning Artiſts and Jugglers, to leſſen the Credit of authentick Truths; and that he might as well bring the ſame Arguments to diminiſh the Credit of Sacred Writ, if the Apoſtles did not ſtand in his way, the ſame Arguments being good againſt one, that ſtand good againſt the other.

CHAP. III.

Containing Remarks on the Contents of his Second and Third Chapter, which conſiſts of a Chronological Table, and Obſervations upon what is contained in that Table.

AS for his Chronological Table, we find, upon taking a View of it, that it conſiſts of real Truths, though there are a mixture of Impoſitions amongſt them. This the Doctor himſelf owns to be true, and condemns himſelf out of his own Mouth; his Words are as follows. "That ſince there have been "ſo many Condemnations by lawful Judges and Ma"giſtrates, though they do ſeem to be miſtaken in

" many, yet there must be many also, in which the " Facts were real." And this he says, and acknowledges to appear from " The Time and Place, and " cited Authors for the Execution of many Thou- " sands, besides general Testimonies of great Num- " bers more: He hath reckoned up about One Hun- " dred Forty Six that have suffered in *England* since " the Reformation, by Protestant Judges and Juries. " In *New-England* One and Twenty, so very lately " as the Year 1692; and since these, Seven in *Scot-* " *land*, in the Year 1697. Now the Conclusion " I must make is, That they must be right in many " Cases, though I doubt they were often mistaken." The Author hath thus condemned, what he had so long before been contending for, endeavouring to prove the Doctrine of *Witchcraft* false and erroneous. Now if any of these Cases be true, as they morally appear to be, though there may be Impositions, these impositious Relations ought not to lessen the Credit and Belief of real Truths, and authentick Histories; since, as we noted before, Counterfeits and Realities ought, and may easily be distinguished.

But though the Doctor hath thus, by his own Words, owned the Reality of *Witchcraft*, yet he would still endeavour to lessen the Credit of what he cannot contradict.

Page 65. " If they were mistaken in one half of " these Tryals, it makes a very bad Case. And bet- " ter that they had all been committed to the Righ- " teous Judge, who does not neglect the other Causes, " that are too hard for Man's Judgment. The Doctor is in the right to think the Case bad, where Mistakes are made. But to commit them to the Righteous Judge, seems to be a Reflection upon the Judges of this World, as if they were Unrighteous. But not to insist upon that, believing the Doctor to have a more favourable Opinion of them, I shall only observe, that if this Advice was put in Execution, what

what muſt become of our Courts of Judicature? There would be no occaſion for Judges or Council, and the Judgment-Seat, and Juſtice, might be laid aſide, and vaniſh into the other World: For Miſtakes in common Law and Equity, as well as in capital Caſes, may be made for want of good Evidence, and a true Repreſentation of Circumſtances, which not appearing before a Judge in a true Light, may pervert right Judgment; but becauſe Caſes and Circumſtances may ſometimes be miſrepreſented, muſt all Judgment be condemned? And becauſe Injuſtice may be done, muſt no Juſtice take Place? At this Rate, leſt a Miſtake ſhould be made, no Miſtakes muſt be corrected, and conſequently all muſt be Injuſtice, for want of Judgment. But to ſpeak of Capital Crimes only: It ſometimes happens, that a Man ſuffers upon Moral Probability, and Lawful Evidence, when Circumſtances may miſrepreſent the Caſe; but it does not follow that all Crimes muſt go unpuniſhed; and becauſe one dies innocently, that the wicked ſhould go unpuniſhed. If it were not for the Terror of the Laws, nothing but Wickedneſs would abound, and the Devil and his Angels would act in every Shape, Murther, Theft, and Witchcraft; nay, all manner of Vice would put the World into Confuſion. But if the Doctor can prevail with his Rhetorick, who can withſtand him? Yet this great Clemency will ſcarce appear ſo conſiſtent with Reaſon, as to take Place, no more than Men will leave off the Uſe of Swords or Piſtols in their Defence, becauſe ſometimes they kill, and are made an ill Uſe of.

But the Doctor offers his Reaſons for his Opinion, the firſt of which is, " That where the Times have " not been ſo violent and ſuperſtitious, but that in- " genious Men might venture to ſpeak freely, and " the Government hath put the Parties into their " Hands, that they might make full Tryal; they " have uſually diſcovered Cheat and Impoſture.

" Here are a Matter of Fifteen famous Detections " of Fraud, many after Judges and Juries, and a " Multitude of Eye-witneſſes had been deceived. " Theſe give me a ſtrong Suſpicion, that if the reſt " had undergone as ſtrict an Enquiry, moſt of them " would have been diſcovered as well as theſe." I find I have a very ſtrict Reaſoner to deal with, and therefore it concerns me to make a ſtrict Scrutiny to find them out; they ſeeming to lye in as much Obſcurity, as before the Papers were publiſhed. How violent the Times are, I leave the World to judge: I can ſee nothing of Violence; and as for Superſtition, I think there is ſo little, that Religion, now a Days, is at ſo low an Ebb, that if there was leſs, there would be none at all; moſt Men neither fearing God nor the Devil, nor any of his Works, but perpetrate and commit all manner of Crimes, and if Judgment was left to the Righteous Judge, before that Time, like a Horſe without a Bridle, they would go more Aſtray.

As for the Government putting the Parties into the Hands of ingenious Men, I think they are ſo, when they are brought to Judgment, ſince Judges ought to be ingenious Men. But becauſe ſome Impoſtors have been found out, the Doctor begins to ſuſpect what the Page before he ſeemed not to queſtion; he ſuſpects that thoſe that are real are falſe; at this Rate, indeed, we are got into Superſtitious Times.

The next Reaſon the Doctor offers is ſo full of Weight, that it is ſunk quite out of Sight. It is as follows: " Though the Relations are wrote by thoſe " that believe the Facts, and told the Stories with " as much Advantage as they could well; yet as I " have in Part obſerved already, ſo I now add, that " there are few of them without ſome great Abſur- " dity or Folly, that looks like an Aſſes Ear out of " a Lion's Skin. If any one ſhall think it worth his

" while,

" while, I believe he may collect out of the Books " of *Witchcraft*, as many incredible Tales, very " near, as there are in the *Golden Legend*." Curious Obſervations, and ſtrong Arguments againſt *Witchcraft*; Stories like Aſſes Ears out of a Lions Skin! and incredible Tales in the *Golden Legend!* as for the firſt, I never ſaw the Sight, and cannot tell how it would look; this is a Secret of the Doctor's, and perhaps may be in the Obſcurity his Pavers lay ſo long in. As for the *Golden Legend*, I never had it in my Study.

But to conclude his Reaſon, ſays he, " Now when " Papiſts had ſwelled their lying Miracles into ſuch " a Multitude, our Reformers ventur'd to reject both " the Stories and the Doctrines that they proved by " them, without troubling themſelves to account for " every Particular Relation. And as we have reap'd " a very laſting and happy Benefit from their ſound " Judgment, I do not ſee but we may apply their " Example to the Caſe before us." This ſeems to be a great and lucky Thought, to compare the rejecting of a few Hiſtorical Accounts of Poſſeſſions and *Witchcraft*, with the Reformation of a whole Church; but though the Kingdom received a happy and laſting Benefit from the Reformation, what will it receive, if theſe ſhould be thrown aſide, and what Principles may be built upon them? To determine this, we are to conſider what Principles may be built upon them. What Good or Harm they may be likely to do, we have already noted in the firſt Chapter; and as for what may be built upon them, ſince Poſſeſſions now are of the ſame Kind with thoſe mentioned in Scripture, only differ in ſome Circumſtances, no Poſſeſſions being alike in Circumſtances; no other Principles can be built upon theſe, but what might be upon thoſe, they both tending to the ſame End and Intention, as they make People afraid of the Devil and his Works, and

ſhew

ſhew the Neceſſity of imploring Divine Aſſiſtance: Only there is this Difference; thoſe happening in our Saviour's Time, tended to his Glory, as they gave him Opportunity to work Miracles, and ſhew his Power in caſting them out; whereas now he not being upon Earth, they cannot ſerve to that Purpoſe. Yet to reject the Belief of theſe, is to leſſen the Belief of the others; and if there were no Devils in thoſe, none could be caſt out; which would ſhake our Faith as to the Number of Miracles: Therefore I think we had not beſt " apply their Example to the " Caſe before us.

But to proceed to his Third Obſervation, which is, " An unpardonable Partiality, and perfect Humour in judging what are Acts of Sorcery, and " what are not." But the Doctor can excuſe his own Partiality, in condemning that which he gives ſuch ſlight Reaſons againſt.

But to go on to the remaining Part of this Third Obſervation, or Reaſon, he obſerves, " Tho' the " Statute againſt Witchcraft forbids all Acts of Sorcery whatever, and all Charms for employing of " Spirits; yet for diſcovering a ſuppoſed Witch, " they allow any that call themſelves Accuſers, to " uſe barbarous and unnatural Charms, which muſt " have their Force (if they have any at all) from " the ſame Diabolical Power, becauſe they are no " natural Cauſes of ſuch Effects. They allow them, " for inſtance, to ſet the Bottle and Urine upon the " Fire, well cork'd and ty'd down, and to burn " Cakes made of the Parties Water. All theſe are " ſeeking to, and conſulting with the Devil, and " employing of him, and uſing the *Vinculum Pacti*, " and are within the Reach of the Statute againſt " Witchcraft; and yet all theſe they confeſs of " themſelves, and practiſe unpuniſhed, and think it " no Harm. But this is the utmoſt Partiality, or " rather mere Wantonneſs in judging; for whether

" ſuch

" ſuch Compacts are real, or only imaginary, they " ought to be puniſhed equally on both ſides, with- " out Reſpect of Perſons." I am ſorry the Doctor ſhould be ſo often miſtaken, having ſuch good Judgment; for tho' he diſclaims, and endeavours to extinguiſh the Belief of the Doctrine of Witchcraft, yet, tho' his Intention ſeems to be otherwiſe, he cannot (now and then) forbear in Words, and conſequently in Thoughts, owning of it; or elſe why ſhould he call them barbarous and unnatural Charms, which the Accuſers make uſe of; and ſay, " they muſt have their Force from ſome Diabolical " Power;" which is owning ſuch a Diabolical Power? But he would have the Act to take place upon the Accuſers; he would have the Accuſers puniſhed, yet hath a great deal of Clemency for the Witches: Is not this Partiality? What a great deal of Pains he hath taken, to refer the Accuſed to the *Righteous Judge*; yet is mightily offended the Witneſſes are not puniſhed! But to ſatisfy the Doctor of the Impartiality, we ſhall only put him in mind of an approved Saying, *Set a Thief to catch a Thief*: And we find in common Capital Caſes, as Robbing on the Highway, if a Highway-Man (tho' equally concern'd with others) turns Evidence, he is pardon'd for his paſt Crimes; becauſe he detects thoſe that might continue in their Wickedneſs, and perſevere in their ill Practices: But if he is catch'd again in ſuch a Fact, this former Accuſation will not excuſe that laſt Crime. But tho' the Accuſers in Witchcraft make uſe of Charms, which are in themſelves criminal, yet there is a great deal of Difference betwixt an old Offender and a conſtant Practiſer, and one that only makes uſe of a ſingle Trial, to diſcover and detect ſuch Perſons: And ſince one is done with an ill Intent, and the other with a good Deſign, the Facts not being equally pernicious, cannot deſerve equal Puniſhment, tho' there were no Excuſe to be made

made for the Accuſers. But to put the Caſe further: The Doctor, being throughly acquainted with the Divine Attributes, it will not be amiſs if I ſhould aſk him, Whether, tho' it is conſiſtent with God Almighty's Juſtice, that all thoſe who tranſgreſs the Divine Laws, tho' the Fact be greater or leſs, the Fact breaking of them, ſhould ſuffer for the Breach of his Commandments; yet may not his Mercy prevail with the Rules of Juſtice, and pardon them? Otherwiſe he is not Omnipotent. He may puniſh, and he may pardon: By the Law they dye, but by his Mercy they may be ſaved. And ſo in Common Law, tho' by the Statute the Tranſgreſſor ought to ſuffer, yet Mercy may prevail; and there can be no Mercy without Pardon: For if Juſtice was always exactly executed, there could not, nor would be ſuch a Thing as Mercy: The Word would be of no Uſe or Signification.

But to proceed to his Fourth Obſervation, or Reaſon: He ſays, "That the Number of Witches, and "the ſuppoſed Dealing of Spirits with them, in"creaſe or decreaſe, according to the Laws, and No"tions, and Principles of the ſeveral Times, Pla"ces, and Princes." That they might increaſe or decreaſe according to the Laws, there is no doubt; Executions leſſening the Number, as well as deterring others from the like Practice: And no doubt, but Princes encouraging the Proſecution of ſuch abominable Practices, might enforce thoſe Laws. And no Queſtion, but Notions and Principles might do much; for tho' ſome Men's Principles might be bad enough, yet the Notions they had of the Puniſhment, the Severity of the Laws, and the Reſentment of Princes, might deter them, and diſcourage vicious Practices.

He ſays; "In the Times of the *Roman* Empire, "ſome of the *Cæſars* condemned Witches, others "would not." Which he might as well have expreſſed

preſſed another way, and ſaid, Some of them diſcouraged and puniſhed Offenders ; others were vicious themſelves, and encouraged Vice, or neglected the Puniſhment due by Law.

But he ſays, " In *Lorrain*, where *Remigius*, by " his Principles, could find Eighteen Hundred in " Fifteen Years, I do not underſtand that there are " more now than in other Places." To which I anſwer, That the Execution of ſo many might well decreaſe the Number, as well as deter others. But he ſays, there are no more now than in other Places : And yet there may be as many now as ever ; for tho' they act not after the ſame manner, and dare not diſcover themſelves in ſuch evident and violent ways, ſo eaſily diſcover'd ; they may do more Miſchief by more cunning and clandeſtine ways. They then took a Pride in it, to ſhew their miſchievous Power ; but now they dare not, but may act after manners more prejudicial, tho' not eaſily perceived.

He ſays, " In *Savoy*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, ſince " Philoſophy and Learning have prevailed, they " have but few, tho' great Multitudes before." I wiſh then that Philoſophy and Learning might prevail in *England*, which would be better for the Doctor and me too, (tho' not equally, becauſe I cannot pretend to ſo much as the Miniſter of St. *James*'s in *Edmond's-Bury* :) Beſides, we ſhould have fewer Witches in *England* ; and I believe there are a great many now, for Half the Kingdom are bewitch'd, or worſe. But to be ſerious : How Learning and Philoſophy ſhould decreaſe the Number of Witches, I cannot tell ; for tho' I think I have a tolerable Share of either, I cannot well tell how to caſt out a Devil : But perhaps ſuch Learning as the Doctor means, hath caſt out all the Devils, and baniſhed all the Witches.

He

He goes on : " Formerly *France* was as much " vexed with the Accuſation of ſuppoſed Witches; " but ſince they have diſcouraged Proſecutions, they " have been in much more Eaſe and Freedom from " them." The Doctor ſeems to own or acknowledge, that they have been troubled with them ; but if the diſcouraging of Proſecutions abates the numerous Appearance of their ill Effects, perhaps it may be convenient to do as the *Africans* do ; they worſhip the Devil, that he may be good-humour'd ; for they think God is good, and will do them no harm. And they ſay, Witches never do any Miſchief, but when they are vexed. The Devil is good-humour'd, when he is pleas'd ; but who would do evil, to pleaſe ſuch a Maſter, as will puniſh them that pleaſe him at the laſt ? The beſt way therefore is to contemn and defy him, and to puniſh his Inſtruments, and ſo to deter them from doing his Drudgery.

The Author hath more of this Kind of Obſervations, *Page* the 69th ; telling us, how in ſome Times few or none were executed, but at other Times great Numbers. But having ſaid enough already in reſpect of ſuch trifling Accounts, I think it not worth while to take notice any further of ſuch uſeleſs Repetitions. And I muſt ask the Doctor's Excuſe, if I have anſwer'd ſeveral of theſe evaſive Relations with a ſeeming Slight ; for as I found them to contain little Reaſon, but only ſerved to amuſe the Reader ; ſo I thought, that where much Reaſon or Argument was not required, or what was propoſed did not admit of it, the beſt way would be to entertain the Reader with the moſt pleaſant Argument I could contrive, and leaſt offenſive to the Learned Author.

But *Page* the 69th, he further ſays, " I make no " great Doubt, but that we have as many Devils " now amongſt us, as they had in other Ages. For, " we

" we have as many Temptations, and Lies, and " Thefts, and Adulteries, and Murthers, that are " the Devil's Works. But our Witches, for the " preſent, are gone after the Poets Gods, and mo- " dern Fairies. For, I muſt add, that they are not " ſo far from us, but that if we ſhould have a " Prince, and Judges, and Juries, and Witchfinders, " of the ſame Principles, that found out ſo many " before, in Two Years Time, in all Probability, " they would find out as many now."

The Doctor, ſuppoſing we have as many Devils now as ever, wonders we have not as many Witches, ſince the reſt of the Devils Works go on now as faſt as ever. For which I anſwer, that for ought he knows we have, though the Severity of the Laws and Puniſhments, deters them from acting in ſo open a Manner, yet they may act; and I doubt not but they do ſo cunningly that their ill Deeds are not ſo apparent, or ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhed; the Scripture, which, I ſuppoſe, he allows to be true, tells us of People being poſſeſſed with the Devil, and gives us an Account of what ſtrange Things were acted by them, yet we ſee no ſuch violent Effects by Poſſeſſi- ons, and muſt we conclude, therefore, that there is no Devil? Is he gone away with the Poets Gods, and modern Fairies? No; he is as buſy now as ever, but not in the ſame kind of Actions, and though Witches act not now as they were uſed to do, muſt we conclude there are none? But I ſuppoſe the Devil and they have made a new Compact, and held a General Council, and ſettled Meaſures, how they may do Mankind moſt Miſchief.

But he ſuppoſes Judges, Juries, and Witch-finders, can produce a Number when they pleaſe. As Thief-catchers commonly belong to that honourable Society, or elſe could not diſcover them, having no Correſpondence with them; ſo I ſuppoſe Witch-finders muſt be ſome of that Siſterhood; and no doubt

doubt but if ſome of them had good Encouragemen they might make large Diſcoveries; but the Doct will not allow the Accuſers to be pardoned, and wh would condemn themſelves, by accuſing another As for Princes, Judges and Juries, I ſuppoſe the would not take away the Life of a Perſon, witho lawful Proof, and moral Certainty; who would tak away a Perſons Life without Profit, and be guilt of Murther, without a Proſpect of Gain and Ad vantage?

Page the 69th, to proceed, the Doctor hath ſtarte and contrived a new Method of talking, to puzz himſelf and others; for inſtead of making uſe o Arguments, he tells us, " That the Diſcovery o " *Witches* does follow Principles; for if Men be " lieve none, it is not likely they ſhould find any " But then it may be their Unbelief, or wron " Principles, that are the Reaſon why they are ne " ther found out, nor looked for. To bring thi " Point to an Iſſue, he ſays, it is neceſſary to giv " a Catalogue of ſuch Principles and Notions, a " have prevailed where many Witches were found " or ſuppoſed to be found; and another of ſuch a " have prevailed, where Men have found out few " that we may judge, whether kind of Principle " are more Sound and Rational. For if the Princi " ples upon which Men went, when ſuch grea " Numbers were convicted, be true and right, " ——they muſt not be miſtaken in Matters of Fact " in ſo very many Caſes." To which he adds, tha it is " a very difficult Taſk to reduce theſe Two " ſorts of Principles into Order for a View. For " both the Subject it ſelf is difficult, and the Opini- " ons of thoſe that defend the vulgar Notions, are " ſo confuſed and contradictory, that it is im- " poſſible to bring them into any certain Rules.

But ſince this Taſk is ſo difficult and impoſſible, I ſhall endeavour to do it for the Doctor, his other

Studies

Studies perhaps not allowing him Time. In order to this, it will be neceſſary to conſider what the Doctor means by Principles, which by what he ſays, appears to be a Word uſed in the ſame Signification with Belief, ſince he uſes this Expreſſion, Unbelief, and wrong Principles, which is in Contradiſtinction to Belief, and right Principles; now ſince theſe Principles, he ſaith, are only of Two Kinds, the one muſt be Belief, and the other Unbelief. Now farther, the Reaſon of this Difficulty is, becauſe People's Opinions are confuſed and contradictory; and ſince nothing can be more contradictory than Belief and Unbelief; theſe, according to his Expreſſions, muſt be the Two Sorts of Principles which he calls Opinions confuſed; ſince then he ſays Unbelief is the Reaſon why Witches are not found out, Belief muſt be the Principle that finds them out: So that when ſo many were found out, the Principle Belief muſt prevail, when they were not found out it muſt be Unbelief; ſo that I hope I have reduced theſe Two Principles in order for a View. And all that made the Matter obſcure, was the Uſe of this Word Principle, which might have ſtill remained in Obſcurity, had not the reſt of his Expreſſions explained it; but I ſuppoſe, this Word was only made uſe of to entangle the Senſe, ſo that it ſhould not eaſily be underſtood.

But ſince the Meaning of this Term is underſtood, and it appears that the right was Belief, which Men went upon, when ſo many were convicted, it will follow, that they could not be miſtaken in Matter of Fact, in ſo very many Caſes. But ſuppoſing he will not ſtand to the Conviction of his own Words, Principles by which they are found muſt be good or bad, and let the way they are found be what it will, it muſt be nothing but moral Proof that could convict them, except any Body could think a Judge would condemn a Perſon wrongfully, whoſe Circumſtances

are

are ſo indifferent, that they muſt rather be Objects of Pity than Envy.

Page the 70th, he proceeds, " As ſome Ages have " had the Appearance of many Witches, and others " of few, ſo in ſome Ages Witches, and their " Works, and Confeſſions, are quite different from " others." It is no wonder that Witches and their Works ſhould differ; for, as we have noted before, the Poſſeſſions in Scripture not only differed from one another, but our Saviour declared, that they proceeded from Spirits of a different Kind, *Mark* ix. 29. *This Kind can come forth by nothing but Prayer and Faſting.*

But he ſays, " A *Hebrew* Witch, a *Pagan* Witch, " a *Lapland* Witch, an *Indian* Witch, a *Popiſh* " Witch, and a *Proteſtant* Witch, differ from one " another." Indeed the Place of their Nativity may diſtinguiſh them, as they belong to different Countries; but I never thought that Witches were of any Religion before, ſince they worſhip not the true God in any manner, but the Devil, whoſe Works they do.

His next Paragraph conſiſts of ſome ridiculous Banter, which can reliſh with no body that can diſtinguiſh evaſive and ſuperficial Ridicule from ſound Arguments, and therefore I think it not worth while to take Notice of it. But *Page* 71, he ſays, " We have been apt to wonder why the Devil " had forſaken our Age, that we had no Poſſeſſions " among us, when in ancient Times they had ſo " many." He inſinuates alſo, as if pious Perſons may be bewitched who turn Accuſers; and adds, " But if they that have been thought to have been " betwitched, have really been Dæmoniacks, and the " Devil by their Mouths hath carried on his great " Work of falſe accuſing and murthering of inno- " cent People, then we muſt own he hath done by " Craft, what he could not do by direct Tempta-

" tion

tion, and hath made thoſe very Men his Tools, to carry on his Plots, who verily believed, they had been deſtroying his Works." As to the firſt, we have little Reaſon to think, that the Devil had forſaken our Age, becauſe we have no ſuch Poſſeſſions as formerly; for though he acts not ſo openly, we ſee too many of his Works daily, and the Doctor himſelf was of a different Opinion but Two or Three Pages before; for there he ſays, *Page* 68, and 69. "That we have as many Devils now amongſt us, as they had in other Ages; for we have as many Temptations, *&c.*" So that the Doctor makes uſe of the Devil, juſt as he will ſerve his Purpoſe; and as our Saviour turned him out of the poſſeſſed Perſon into the herd of Swine, ſo he would caſt him out of Witches, and ſometimes out of the Age, or fetch him in again, as Occaſion ſerves; nay, he will not allow him Communication with Witches, but would inſinuate him into pious Perſons, and make him act as an Informer, or Accuſer; at this Rate, why may we not ſuppoſe, that he hath entered into the Doctor, to make him defend Criminals and poſſeſſed Perſons, and accuſe pious Perſons? Who knows but ſo pious a Perſon as himſelf, may be worked upon by Craft, though it could not be done by Temptation? This Suggeſtion ſeems as natural as what the Doctor ſays, who ſeems to favour his Plots, though he verily believes he is deſtroying his Works; and to uſe the Doctor's own Words, "I do not aſſert this, but I will ſay, there are ſome Appearances that look that way. For the Doctor makes uſe of very crafty Inſinuations, though but very weak Arguments, if any at all; ſo that I have only the Opportunity of diſcovering his Suggeſtions, having very little Reaſon to oppoſe; but thoſe were anſwered in the Two firſt Chapters.

But to proceed, *Page* 71, and 72, he ſays, "That we might judge when the Confeſſions of Witches

"proceed

" proceed from a ſound Mind, and when from Ima-
" gination and Vapours; (that is, whether they are
" real or no) it would be neceſſary we ſhould have
" ſome fixed bounds of the Power of Spirits, that
" we might know when they had paſſed the Degrees
" of Poſſibility." That there are fixed Bounds of the Power of Spirits, is evident from Scripture; that having ſhewn us what is in the Power of Spirits to do. Satan tempted our Saviour, and carried him up upon the Pinnacle of the Temple: Devils poſſeſſed ſeveral, and produced Effects which could not be attributed to natural Cauſes; and this is to be diſtinguiſhed; thoſe Effects which proceed from natural Cauſes, ranging themſelves amongſt the Number of known Diſtempers, which appear by their Symptoms; whereas the Effects of ſupernatural Cauſes own their Cauſe, becauſe they differ from what is Natural.

But farther, *Page* 72, he goes on, " Concerning
" the Nature and Will, and Deſigns of Spirits,
" though we are ſure of their Being, yet we are by
" no means able to lay down ſafe Rules, by which
" we may judge of their Actions and Intentions."
That we cannot have adequate Idea's of what is immaterial is certain, yet as to the Will and Deſigns of them, we know that they muſt be either good or bad, which Rules are ſafe enough; beſides their Actions ſhew their Natures to be Good or Evil; and if we gueſs right, their Wills and Intentions are according to their Actions, which muſt be either good or bad too.

He proceeds, " Some think, and have written,
" that there are harmleſs Spirits, that are in a kind
" of middle State, betwixt Angels and Devils; and
" if ſo, one would think it ſhould be no Capital
" Offence to have Communication with them." I would aſk the Doctor, allowing ſuch, if there be ſuch Spirits, whether any body was ever convicted for doing no Harm? Whether ever any one was accuſed

for

or a Witch, without ſome ill Actions ſuſpected or proved? If there is no ill Action, there can be no Proof of any; nor can any body tell what Spirits a Man hath Communication with, except his Actions diſcover what manner of a Spirit it is. The Tree is known by its Fruit, and a Man condemned or juſtified by his bad or good Deeds. *Matth.* vii. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. *Ye ſhall know them by their Fruits: Do Men gather Grapes of Thorns, or Figs of Thiſtles? Even ſo every good Tree bringeth forth good Fruit; but a corrupt Tree bringeth forth evil Fruit. A good Tree cannot bring forth evil Fruit; neither can a corrupt Tree bring forth good Fruit. Every Tree that bringeth not forth good Fruit, is hewn down, and caſt into the Fire. Wherefore by their Fruits ye ſhall know them.*

He next quotes Dr. *More*, and tells us of other Spirits, "That are very great Fools. That Spirits act variouſly, and in different Manners, is certain from their Actions; and that not only Spirits who act according to the Will and Direction of a fooliſh Creature, may do ſo, is very likely, but it is evident that the Devil himſelf hath acted very often more like a Fool, than a ſubtle crafty Spirit: It was not very prudent of the Devil to war againſt God, who not being ſatisfied with his great Share of Happineſs, loſt his firſt State, and caſt himſelf out into everlaſting Miſery: Nor was it a much leſs fooliſh and vain Undertaking, to offer Temptations to the Son of God, who he knew was in Eſſence the ſame, and equal with his Father. Beſides theſe, there are other Inſtances of the Folly of his Attempts, but theſe are ſufficient for our preſent Purpoſe.

Page 73, he goes on, "Who dare venture to determine what God will ſuffer, and what he will not? Who knows whether he may not permit ſuch Things, on purpoſe to prove Judges and Juries, how wiſe and valiant they will be, in defending the Lives of the Poor and Innocent." To

which

which I anſwer, that what God will permit, as far as relates to the preſent Subject, appears from what he hath permitted; he hath permitted the Devil and his Angels to tempt his Creatures, to try whether they would reſiſt Temptations; he hath laid before them Good and Evil, and a Power to chuſe which they will; a Witch may chuſe whether ſhe will take upon her the Service of the Devil, and forſake the Service of God; and his Providence hath appointed Judges and Juries to examine into their wicked Deeds, and to puniſh evil Doers, as *Deut.* xxx. 15, 17, 18. *See, this Day I have ſet before thee Life and Good, and Death and Evil. But if thine Heart turn away, ſo that thou wilt not hear, but ſhalt be drawn away, and worſhip other Gods, and ſerve them: I denounce unto you this Day, that you ſhall ſurely periſh, and that you ſhall not prolong your Days upon the Land.* But the Doctor ſays, theſe Things were permitted to try the Wiſdom and Valour of Judges and Juries: I never heard before, that Judges and Juries were ever tempted in any other Shape, but that of current Coin; it would be very hard to hazard the Lives of the Innocent, to try Judges, when the Tryal muſt deceive them, and pervert Judgment, without any Crime in them, ſince by the Evidence it appeared to be true: Therefore the only way to try Judges and Juries, is by Bribery, to try whether they will accept it or not, which is at their Free-will and Choice, and a voluntary Action; but who would bribe to murther innocent, eſpecially poor People?

He ſays further, "Who can ſay to what Degree "God may permit him to uſe his natural Craft and "Subtilty?" To which I anſwer, Why does the Doctor argue againſt his natural Craft and Subtilty? which God Almighty hath permitted, and hath told us in what Degrees; having ſufficiently warn'd us of his Devices, and given us ſo many Inſtances in Sacred Writings.

Page 74, he ſays, " Wiſe Men have thought it " neceſſary to be wonderfully cautious in Penal " Laws——and, where their Neighbour's Blood or " Reputation is at Stake, they think they are bound " to keep to ſome few negative Rules." And in this they are in the Right; it would be hard the Innocent ſhould ſuffer, and it would be as hard that the Wicked ſhould go unpuniſhed, when there is good Proof. We ſhall therefore take a View of his negative Rules.

The firſt is, " *Do not intrude into Things that you* " *have not ſeen*, Col. 2. 18. If this is one of his negative Rules, it little concerns this Subject; and the Doctor hath cited it very partially, the Text being thus, *Let no Man beguile you of your Reward, in a voluntary Humility, and worſhipping of Angels, intruding into thoſe Things which he hath not ſeen, vainly puffed up by his fleſhly Mind.* St. *Paul* here is exhorting the People to Conſtancy, that they might reap the Fruits of it, but ſays not a Word of *Witchcraft*, nor that a Judge and Jury ſhall not examine the Evidence, becauſe they themſelves are not Witneſſes.

The Second is, " Even good Spirits are no Legal " Evidence in our Courts." In this he is right, for they would be neither acceptable to Judge nor Jury; beſides, it would be difficult to ſummon them there; and as for the Devil, if he ſhould appear, I believe neither the Jury would ſtay to give their Verdict, nor the Judge to receive it.

The Third is, " We muſt not make our Neigh- " bours ſuffer for the Harms the Devil does. As " the Serpent will bite without bidding, ſo the De- " vil will do Miſchief without our Leave." But if our Neighbour acts by virtue of an evil Spirit, and conſents to what the Devil does, and the Devil is employed by a Neighbour, the Neighbour is either Actor, or Acceſſary, and conſequently makes it his

own Action, and ought to ſuffer for it, which is the Caſe of Witches.

The Fourth is, " We can no more convict a " Witch upon the Tricks of Swimming, Scratching, " Touching, or any other ſuch Experiments, than " we may convict a Thief upon the Tryal of the " Sieve and Sheers." I thought a Thief was never convicted, except upon Legal Proof before a Judge and Jury; and if there be moral Proof before the ſame againſt one accuſed of *Witchcraft*, that is ſufficient.

The Fifth negative Rule is, " Witches Confeſſions " have ſo often been extorted, ſo often the Effects of " Diſtraction, proceeding from long Watching and " Tortures of Diſtempers, and have been ſo often " found contrary to plain Truth, that they are not " to be believed againſt the Probability of Things, " and the natural Circumſtances of Actions. We ſuppoſe no Confeſſions can be ſaid to be extorted, which are voluntary, without Tortures and violent Means: and as for diſtracted People, Madneſs is eaſily diſcovered; and who would convict a Witch againſt Probability and Circumſtances of Actions? Theſe are the Things which moral Proof conſiſts of, and which give Credit to Teſtimony, and as Belief is founded upon moral Proof, upon that Proof Judgment ought to be given.

The Sixth is, " Things odd and unaccountable " ought to be reſpited, till we underſtand them." But to this I anſwer, that Probability and Circumſtances make them accountable and underſtood. But this Rule contradicts his firſt Rule, for if you are not to intrude or examine into Things, how will you underſtand them.

The Seventh, " Where there is no known Rule " to decide by, make no Judgment. In Law, I think Precedents make Rules; and Probability and moral Proof is another Rule.

But

But to proceed to his laſt negative Rule, he ſays, " It becomes us to ſhew our Faith in God, by leaving doubtful Caſes to his Providence, which is " powerfully preſent and active in the World." To which I anſwer, that his powerful Providence directs us to examine into doubtful Caſes, and to remove thoſe Doubts; and God Almighty, who is the only Providential Being, hath directed by his Prophets, that ſuch as do Evil, ſhall ſuffer Puniſhment, as a juſt Reward of their evil Ways. Beſides, this negative Rule leaves our Neighbours Reputation at Stake, as under Suſpicion, which ought to be clear'd, ſo that here the Doctor makes his own Opinion contrary to Reaſon and himſelf.

But theſe are the Rules the Doctor ſuppoſes, where the World diſcovered few Witches; and indeed, where they were neither examin'd into, nor tried, but left to act at their own Diſcretion, without Notice, I cannot ſee how there ſhould be any Appearance, none being taken Notice of.

But let us ſee what Rules brought Offenders to Juſtice, and ſuffered not ſuch Vices to be practiſed without Punithment, and Diſcouragement.

The *Firſt* is, " That the Devil cannot make a " Perſon in Fits, think he ſhould ſee the Shape or " Appearance of another, unleſs that Perſon hath " made a Compact." The Doctor does not approve this; he would think, I ſuppoſe, that the Devil may poſſeſs a Perſon, yet hath all along been declaiming againſt Poſſeſſions; but if the Devil may thus diſturb the Brains of diſtempered People, why may he not act upon others, and diſorder them as in Poſſeſſions mentioned in our Hiſtory; and if he does, why may he not do it at the Requeſt of thoſe that have made a Contract with him? For it is not to be ſuppoſed, that a Witch can do any Thing without the Aſſiſtance of an evil Spirit, or one of the Devils Agents;

and if so, we may believe, that this Possession of the Person was at the request of that Person who had so contracted, who was the Agent that employed that Spirit.

The *Second* is, " That therefore the Spectral Evi- " dence, that is, the afflicted Parties thinking they " see the Persons that torment them, may be given " in Evidence." Because the Devil always represents the Person that employs him, and makes the deluded Witch believe she does it, which is her great Satisfaction for her ill Bargain; which Fact she consenting to, makes it hers, she employing the Author of that Mischief.

The *Third* is, " That it is lawful to try the sup- " posed Witch, by observing how the afflicted Party " is afflicted at the Touch of her." For then it is supposed, that the evil Spirit is obliged by Contract to fall to Work. Besides, the Devil uses his Servants with so little Honour, that, as he designs to torment them at the last, he often betrays them to Justice, that he may the sooner have them in his Possession.

The *Fourth*, " That it is lawful to use the *Lord's-* " *Prayer*, for a Test to discover them. *Sadd. Debell. Page* 54.

Fifth, " That Swimming is a fair Tryal of a " Witch. King *James*'s *Dæmon.*

Sixth, " That want of Tears is another Mark. *Sadd. Debell.*

Seventh, " That insensible Parts and Teats are " Signs of *Witchcraft. Dalton*'s *Country Justice.*

Eighth, " That the Devil's Mark may be like a " Flea-bite. *Dalton*'s *Country-Justice.*

Ninth, " That the Devil can do more, when he " hath a Witches Commission, than he can do " without it. Mr. *Baxter*'s *Certainty of the World of Spirits.*

Tenth,

Tenth, " That *Perſonæ inhabiles*, in other Ca-
" ſes, even infamous Perſons, are lawful Evidence in
" the Caſe of Witchcraft. *Sadd. Debell.* p. 58.

Eleventh, " That Tortures may be made uſe of,
" to extort Confeſſions." With as much Reaſon in this Caſe, as in others.

Twelfth, " That the Witches may be kept long
" from Sleep, and then examined.

Thirteenth, " That the ſuſpected Witches may be
" watched, till their Imps appear; and then Imps
" may come in the Shape of Cats, Dogs, Rats,
" Mice, Spiders, Fleas, Nits, Birds, Flies, a Toad,
" a Frog, a Hen, a Crow, a Hornet, or a Mole.

This Rule he oppoſes thus: " This is a pernici-
" ous Way of Tryal; becauſe it would be ſtrange,
" if no Creature ſhould happen near them." To which I anſwer, That real Subſtances, or thoſe which are material ones, may eaſily be diſtinguiſhed from Apparitions of Spirits. But the Doctor proceeds: " If we know any Thing of Spirits, this is contra-
" dictory to the true Notion of them; for if they
" are, or can make themſelves inviſible, what ſigni-
" fies watching?" To which I anſwer; That tho' they may be inviſible if they pleaſe, or may make themſelves otherwiſe if they will, yet they often chuſe rather to be viſible, that they may betray and diſcover the Bondſlave that employs them. That Spirits as ſuch are inviſible is certain; or elſe we might diſcover the Soul of a Man when it departs the Body; but that they may aſſume a Body, or Corporeal Subſtance, and be viſible, is as certain. To convince us of this, we have our Saviour's Words; who when he appeared unto his Diſciples after his Reſurrection, bad them feel the Marks of the Nails in his Hands, to convince them that it was his Body; whereas, if a Spirit could not be made viſible, he might as eaſily have ſaid, a Spirit is inviſible, and cannot be ſeen: But the Scripture

otherwiſe ; witneſs the Viſibility of Spirits, Angels having appeared upon ſeveral Occaſions : But of this more in the Second Part of *Material* and *Immaterial Subſtances*.

The *Fourteenth* Rule is, " When the Accuſed are " upon their Tryal for bewitching any particular " Perſon, it is lawful to give in Evidence Matters " that are no ways relating to that Fact, and done " many Years before, which conſequently they cannot " be prepared to anſwer to." And this I think very reaſonable ; for theſe concurring Circumſtances tend either to clear, or repreſent more fully their Suſpicion, and the Probability of their being ill Perſons ; and whether they have been long guilty, or ſuſpected to follow ſuch ill Practices : As when a Man hath been try'd for his Life formerly, or hath been burnt in the Hand, the Continuance of ſuch Vices adds to the Probability of his Guilt.

The *Fifteenth* is, " That ill Fame of their Ance- " ſtors, is a reaſonable Ground of Suſpicion :" And not without Reaſon ; becauſe it implies, that they were brought up in ill Principles.

The *Sixteenth* is, " That Imps may be kept in " Pots, or other Veſſels ; and that the Pots and Pla- " ces where they are kept, ſtink deteſtably ; and that " therefore ſuch ſtinking Places in their Houſes, are " Signs that they have Imps." *Dalton's Country Juſt.*

The *Seventeenth* : " That received Rules, that " have been practiſed by Courts of Juſtice, are not " to be examined by Reaſon.

The *Eighteenth* : " That tho' theſe Arguments, " ſingle, are not concluding ; yet ſeveral of them, " together, are ſufficient : As Five little Candles, " together, give one great one." To which the Doctor ſuggeſts ; " Which, by the way, is a falla- " cious Compariſon : For Forty bad Arguments " prove no more than one ; that is, nothing at all :

" But

" But it can never be ſaid ſo of lighted Candles in a " Room." And to the Doctor's Anſwer I muſt reply, That it is more fallacious; for all the Circumſtances, or Rules, are ſuppoſed to concur to make Truth evident and plain, and ſtrengthen one another; as Five Candles make one good Light, or evident and moral Poſſibility.

Having thus taken a View of theſe Rules, we cannot but admire what ſtrong Arguments the Doctor hath offer'd againſt them. He condemns them without any Tryal at all; tho' he would not have poor Witches try'd; and at once pronounces them unſcriptural, ſuperſtitious, and falſe.

The Doctor is endowed with a wonderful Stock of Clemency; he had rather the World ſhould ſuffer, than Juſtice ſhould be done to the Children of the Devil: They ought to be uſed tenderly, leſt, like Dogs in a Paſſion, they ſhould bite. He hath taken a great deal of Pains in Favour of them, tho' God Almighty condemns them. How great muſt that Mercy be, which exceeds infinite Mercy!

This puts me in mind of a Sermon I heard in the Country, about the Feaſt in the Goſpel, ſome Years ago: For tho' the Lord was angry, when his Gueſts were invited, and would not come; yet this ſweet-temper'd Gentleman, being more compaſſionate than the Lord, tho' he likewiſe blamed ſome, excuſed others; *the firſt* (*Luke* 14. 18.) *ſaid unto him, I have bought a Piece of Ground, and I muſt go and ſee it:* Now, ſays the Parſon, could not this Man have gone and ſeen it another Day? Another ſaid, *I have bought Five Yoke of Oxen, and I go to prove them:* Says the Miniſter, Could not this Man prove his Oxen another Day? Another ſaid, *I have married a Wife, and therefore I cannot come:* Now, ſays our good-natur'd Gentleman, this Man I could

not blame: He was for excuſing him, tho' the Lord blamed them all.

Thus the Doctor would not have Witches puniſh'd, no not ſo much as look'd after, tho' the Scripture condemns them. He will not eaſily admit of Poſſeſſions, tho' our Saviour and his Diſciples found enough: But theſe, he ſays, are moſt frequently found out in ſuperſtitious Times; and he would have the Witch-finders puniſh'd, as well as the Witches. What would he have done with our Saviour and his Diſciples? Were they ſuperſtitious? Or were their Principles of an ill Kind, unſcriptural and falſe?

From what we have hitherto obſerved, I can find but little Reaſon the Doctor hath offer'd to blame our *Hiſtory of Witchcraft*, and much leſs to favour his own *Eſſay*, which very likely may do much more Harm than ſome are aware of.

I ſhould proceed to ſhew, that the Scripture could find out Magicians, Sorcerers, and Witchcraft, and ſeveral poſſeſſed with Devils, to enforce and confirm what we have ſaid; but I ſhall refer that to the *Second Part*, where we ſhall ſhew the Effects Spirits may have, in working upon, and altering Matter.

We ſhall therefore conclude this, and examine further in the next Chapter, what the Doctor hath ſaid in the remaining Part of his *Eſſay*.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Containing ſome Remarks on what he hath ſaid of the Witches in Suffolk, Salem, Boſton *and* Andover *in* New-England; *at* Mohra *in* Sueden, *and the Witches at* Warbois.

FRom what we have ſaid in the foregoing Chapters, it appears, That the Doctor hath ſaid very little to favour his Opinion; but that, on the contrary, it is manifeſt, both from Reaſon and the Teſtimony of Scripture, that Poſſeſſions are not only poſſible, but have been frequent. Now if in ſome Caſes there ſhould be Miſtakes, or ſome ſhould endeavour to deceive the World, this does not detract from the Credit which ought to be given to thoſe that are true; no more than Counterfeit Bonds, or forged Bills diminiſh the Value of thoſe that are genuine. If there are Miſtakes or Impoſitions, it behoves thoſe, under whoſe Care it lies, to diſcover and diſtinguiſh what are real, and what are Impoſitions: And this is the Work of Judges and Juries, when ſuch Caſes come before them; which, no doubt, their Conſciences will oblige them to take care of.

As for the Doctor, any body that takes notice of his Partiality in Managing this Subject, his cunning Inſinuations and Evaſions, and the Weakneſs of his Arguments, (tho' in Oppoſition to what is contained in Scripture) will ſuppoſe he will muſter up all the Miſtakes or Impoſitions he can, to favour his eſpouſed Doctrine: But ſuppoſing them to be as he would repreſent them, it ſhews them falſe, perhaps;

but except all are false, his Opinion is bad. And in examining these Cases, no doubt but the Doctor will use all the Art he can, to represent them erroneous; therefore, tho' it alters not the Subject in general, whether true or false, we shall (as briefly as we can) take a View of them, and see with what Skill the Doctor hath endeavour'd to make particular Exceptions to universal Truths. If these Stories are false, it will follow, that our History in general is true, having the Authority of Scripture on our side: and that the Doctor's *Essay* contains a Collection of false Relations and Impostures.

As for the first Case, which is of the *Suffolk* Witches, he quotes an Account of them out of Mr. *Baxter*'s *Certainty of the World of Spirits*, which is as follows: "The hanging a great Number of Witches in *Suffolk* and *Essex*, by the Discovery of one *Hopkins*, in 1645 and 1646, is famously known. Mr. *Calamy* went along with the Judges in the Circuit, to hear their Confessions, and see that there was no Fraud or wrong done them. I spake with many understanding, pious, and credible Persons, that lived in the Countries, and some that went to them to the Prisons. Amongst the rest, an old Reading Parson, called *Lowes*, and not far from *Framlingham*, was one that was hanged; who confessed that he had Two Imps; That one of them was always putting him on doing Mischief, and (he being near the Sea) as he saw a Ship under Sail, it moved him to send him to sink the Ship, and he consented, and saw the Ship sink before him. One penitent Woman confessed; That her Mother lying sick, and she looking to her, somewhat like a Mole ran into the Bed to her; which she being startled at, her Mother bid her not fear it, but gave it her, saying; Keep this in a Pot by the Fire, &c. and thou

" thou ſhalt never want. She did as ſhe was bid: " Shortly after a poor Boy came (ſeemingly) in, " and asked Leave to ſit and warm him by the " Fire; and when he was gone, ſhe found Money " under the Stool; and afterwards oft did ſo again; " and at laſt laid hold of her, and drew Blood " of her: And ſhe made no other Compact with " the Devil, but that the Imps ſucked her Blood; " and, as I heard, ſhe was delivered. Abundance of " ſad Confeſſions were made by them; by which " ſome teſtified, that there are certain Puniſhments " which they were to undergo, if they did not ſome " Hurt as was appointed them.

In Confutation of this *Hiſtorical Account*, writ by ſo learned a Man, and one of ſo good Authority, the Doctor makes ſome Reflections on Mr. *Baxter*, neither becoming himſelf, nor due to the other; and produces a Letter writ by Mr. *Hopkins*, which is as follows:

M. N.

" My Service to your Worſhip preſented; I have " this Day received a Letter, *&c.* to come to a " Town called *Great Stoughton*, to ſearch for evil-" diſpoſed Perſons, called Witches, (though I hear " your Miniſter is far againſt us, thro' Ignorance:) " I intend to come (God willing) the ſooner, to " hear his ſingular Judgment in the Behalf of ſuch " Parties. I have known a Miniſter in *Suffolk* " preach as much againſt their Diſcovery in a Pul-" pit, and forced to recant it (by the Committee) " in the ſame Place. I much marvel, ſuch evil Mem-" bers ſhould have any, (much more any of the " Clergy, who ſhould daily preach Terror, to con-" vince ſuch Offenders) ſtand up to take their Parts, " againſt ſuch as are Complainants for the King, " and Sufferers themſelves, with their Families and " Eſtates." —— So much of this Letter as is neceſ-

ſary;

ſary; the reſt only enquiring what Sort of Entertainment they were likely to meet with, to refreſh themſelves.

To this Letter, the Doctor annexes a Quotation from Mr. *Gaul*; which 'tis neceſſary to tranſcribe, that we may ſee what great Concluſions the Doctor draws from the whole; it is as follows: "To all "theſe, I cannot but add one at large, which I have "lately learnt, partly from ſome Communication I "had with one of the Witch-finders, (as they call "them) partly from the Confeſſion which I heard, "of a ſuſpected and a committed Witch, ſo handled "as ſhe ſaid, and partly as the Country-People talk "of it. Having taken the ſuſpected Witch, ſhe is "placed in the Middle of a Room, upon a Stool or "Table, croſs-legg'd, or in ſome other uneaſy Po-"ſture; to which, if ſhe ſubmits not, ſhe is then "bound with Cords. There is ſhe watch'd, and "kept without Meat, or Sleep, for the Space of "Four and twenty Hours; for within that Time, "they ſay, they ſhall ſee her Imp come and ſuck. "A little Hole is likewiſe made in the Door, for "the Imp to come in at; and leſt it ſhould come "in ſome leſs diſcernible Shape, they that watch, "are taught to be ever and anon ſweeping the Room, "and if they ſee any Spiders or Flies, to kill them; "and if they cannot kill them, then to be ſure they "are her Imps.

Having thus related what the Doctor hath quoted, to his Advantage, let us ſee what Advantage he makes of it. The firſt Paragraph, (*Pag.* 83, 84.) he only complains of the Severity of the Tryal of the Stool, and only ſuppoſes an extorted Confeſſion; but Mr. *Baxter* hath told us of voluntary Confeſſions of Perſons themſelves, of which he was an Eye-witneſs.

In

In the next Paragraph, the Doctor tells us of a Woman that was kept faſting, and without Sleep, till ſhe confeſſed, and called her Imp *Nan*; which when ſhe had got Sleep, and refreſhed her ſelf, ſhe deny'd again: But it does not therefore follow, that ſhe was innocent, her firſt Confeſſion making her guilty.

Page the 85th, he tells of walking them, and ſwimming of them, till they would confeſs; and of ſearching for Teats, and other Marks; and this he calls Barbarity: But is it not more Barbarity to ſuffer them to damnify and abuſe their Neighbours, by their ill Practices? And as none but People of ill Characters, and whoſe Actions had given juſt Grounds of Suſpicion, were uſed ſo; it ſeems to be no more Hardſhip, than it is to bring a ſuſpected Highwayman before a Judge upon his Tryal: there being no way of Conviction without Tryal, nor any Puniſhment without Proof.

The next Paragraph, the Doctor is offended, that the Parliament being addreſs'd, rather encouraged the Execution of Juſtice, than ſuffer'd the wicked to go on in their ways, and ſollicit evil Spirits to execute their ill Deſigns; as too many do now-a-days. But, *Page* the 86th, he brings a Text out of *Hudibras* to aſſiſt his Burleſque, and tells us, that *Hopkins* was at laſt abuſed for his good Service, being abuſed by one Party, becauſe he was encouraged by the other.

In the next Paragraph, the Doctor is angry, becauſe he called Mr. *Lowes* a Reading Parſon: But if he was ſo, where was the Injuſtice? Would he have him called a Biſhop? But the Doctor will not believe Mr. *Lowes* Confeſſion, tho' Mr. *Baxter* witneſſeth it. Is not Mr. *Baxter*'s Affirmation as good Proof, as the Doctor's Suppoſition is to the contrary? He was a Man of great Learning, great Parts, and ſingular Piety; why ſhould not his Word, in the

the Affirmative, be better than a Denial, without Evidence to the contrary? All that he ſays, he wants to know the Time, and the Ship's Name, and Witneſſes; and ſpends the whole 88th *Page*, in Circumlocutions about Mr. *Baxter*'s Relation. How ſhould any body know the Ship's Name, and no body to enquire; the Ship being at Sea? But he asks, what Gain could be got by the Fact? Or what Gain could be got by his Accuſation? The Doctor, I thought, had known very well, what Gain Mr. *Lowes* might expect to get, for ruining ſo many Families: He confeſſed the Fact, and received *the Wages of Sin*, which *is Death*. We know, that *the Devil goes about like a roaring Lyon, ſeeking whom he may devour*; and if he can delude any poor Creatures to join and conſent with him in Miſchief, he brings them in guilty of the Fact, without Hopes of Reward or Provocation. I would ask the Doctor, what Harm Mankind have done to the Devil, that he ſhould covet to betray them to Sin and Death? Is it to ſpite God Almighty, by deſtroying his Works; being capable of no other Miſchief? And as he does Miſchief without Hopes of Gain, or Provocation, ſo he takes delight to miſlead Mankind, and draw them into the ſame Snare, to fight and war againſt Heaven.

But, *Page* the 89th, the Doctor gives Mr. *Lowes* an extraordinary Character, and prints the following Letter to ſecond it, from Mr. *Rivett*, a Gentleman of *Brandſton*.

SIR,

"In Anſwer to your Requeſt concerning Mr. *Lowes*, "my Father was always of the Opinion, that "Mr. *Lowes* ſuffer'd wrongfully; and hath often "ſaid, That he did believe he was no more a Wi-"zard than he was.

As

As to the firſt Character, he might be in other Actions eſteemed a good Man, and yet be guilty of this Crime. You hear nothing alledged againſt a great many Offenders, but the Fact they are accuſed of; and if that be proved, or they confeſs it, the Law gives Judgment: And therefore we muſt ſuppoſe, that it was proved; or elſe the Judge and Jury would never have brought him in guilty, and condemned him. If his Accuſers were in fault, the Witneſſes and his Confeſſion muſt ſtand againſt him, or a Judge would never be ſo wicked to condemn an innocent Perſon, without Hopes of Gain, no more than the Jury would bring him in guilty: So that if he committed the Crime, what ſignifies the reſt of his Character? He was not hang'd for his good Character, but for the Crime he confeſſed, and was accuſed of. And as for Mr. *Rivett*'s Character, that does not ſay he was not guilty; it only ſays, he could be no Witneſs againſt him: Nor can I, any further than as the Story is related: And for any Thing the Doctor offers to the contrary, the Caſe ſeems to carry the ſame Shew of Truth as it did before.

But to go on with the Letter: He writes, "I have "heard it from them that watch'd with him, that "they kept him awake ſeveral Nights together, and "run him backwards and forwards about the Room, "until he was out of Breath. Then they reſted him "a little, and then ran him again; and thus they "did for ſeveral Days and Nights together, till he "was weary of his Life, and was ſcarce ſenſible of "what he did. They ſwam him at *Framlingham*; "but that was no true Rule to try him by, for they "put in honeſt People, and they ſwam as well "as he.

This walking and running, the Doctor thinks barbarous; but I cannot think it true, for thoſe that ran with him, muſt ſuffer themſelves as well as he;

he; and they would ſcarce uſe themſelves barbarouſly: Nor can I think, that running and walking could make a Man ſenſeleſs. The Doctor miſtruſts Reports on the other Side, but is willing to believe any Thing that favours his Cauſe; but ſuppoſing this true, could this make him guilty; would he confeſs himſelf guilty of Death, becauſe he was weary of walking or running; this is more incredible than what is alledged againſt him.

But to proceed, our Witchfinder-General, Mr. *Hopkins*, owned, "that he had Twenty Shillings a "Town for going to them." And if he had, does that leſſen the Guilt of the Perſon? Muſt not the Doctor's Pariſhioners believe what he ſays in the Pulpit, becauſe he is paid for his Pains? Could a Man live, and travel, without Reward or Payment?

He ſays further, "that they had ſwam many; that "they had watched them for Four Nights running, "and does not deny but they had kept them ſtand-"ing, or walking, till their Feet were bliſtered;" for which Mr. *Hopkins* gives this very good Reaſon. The Reaſon, ſays he, was to prevent their couching down; for indeed when they be ſuffered ſo to couch, immediately come their Familiars into the Room, and ſcare the Watchers, and hearten on the Witch, *&c.* So it is not the Barbarity of the watching, but the fearfulneſs of the Watchers, that may give the Doctor Reaſon to complain, if there be any.

As for the Story of the Old Woman, the Doctor does not deny but that it hath been confirmed; but notwithſtanding he cannot contradict it, he would leſſen the Credit by Inſinuations; ſays he, "What ſigni-"fies Confeſſions, after ſuch Uſage?" Yet I do not find the Old Woman was ill uſed, but that this was a voluntary Confeſſion; but the Doctor goes on, "Old Women are apt to make ſuch Fancies of them-"ſelves——and after hearing how familiar the Devil

"was

" was with others, and what Imps they had, ſhe " might begin to think that a Beggar-boy had been " a Spirit, and Mice upon her Mother's Bed, had " been her Imps." A very likely Story! that an Old Woman ſhould falſly accuſe her ſelf to be hanged; or how ſimple muſt the Daughter be, to think a Beggar-boy a Spirit, and yet not be afraid; or why ſhould ſhe think Mice Imps, when ſhe ſaid, what ran into the Bed was like a Mole; or was a Mole running into the Bed, like Mice playing upon it? this is a weak Evaſion of the Doctor's; he would impoſe this Suggeſtion, yet Mr. *Baxter*'s Teſtimony, which he cannot deny neither, muſt not be believed.

Yet though the Doctor cannot diſown the Confeſſion, he would further evade it, by repreſenting it in another Manner, hoping to make it appear of leſs Credit, which rather confirms it.

He ſays, " *Elizabeth Clark*, an old Beggar with " only one Leg, they ſaid, had an Imp, called *Vinegar Tom*; another called *Sack and Sugar*; and another that, ſhe ſaid, ſhe would fight up to the " Knees in Blood, before ſhe would loſe it. She ſaid the Devil came to her Two or Three Times a " Week, and lay with her like a Man; and he was " ſo very likely a Man, that ſhe was forced to riſe " and let him in, when he knocked at the Door, " and ſhe felt him Warm. *Goodwife Hogtree* kept her Imp a Year and half with Oatmeal, and loſt it." This Confeſſion the Doctor hath had confirmed, yet he is very hard to be perſuaded to beeve what is contrary to his Inclination; no Teſtiony will prove any Thing, which ſuits not with is Opinion; he will yet favour his eſpouſed Cauſe, nd would make us believe they " had kept theſe oor People without Meat or Sleep, till they knew ot well what they ſaid; yet the Daughter confeſs'd ey found Money; and he juſt before ſays, ſhe had

Money

Money given every Day, almoſt, for telling the Story; now if ſhe had Money given her every Day, what occaſion had ſhe to want Meat; or how can he ſuppoſe that ſhe knew not what ſhe ſaid, when he owns ſhe told the Story to get Money?

Of the Witchcraft *at* Salem, Boſton *and* Andover, *in* New-England.

Having taken a View of what the Doctor hath ſaid, to evade the Credit of the *Suffolk* Witches, we ſhall next take Notice how he manages his Cauſe, in reſpect of the *New-England* Witches.

As to the Caſe of *Goodwin*'s Children, for the Bewitching of whom one *Glover* was hanged the Year before: Though the Truth of this was confirmed by Mr. *Mather*, and the Proof was ſo undeniable, as to gain the Credit of Mr. *Baxter*, and others; and though, *Page* the 98th, he himſelf owns, "Such Fits may be Diabolical, for though "evil Spirits cannot be ſuppoſed in Reality to be "differently affected, according to Popiſh or Inde-"pendent Notions; yet the ſame Spirit may coun-"terfeit a Torture, or a Delight at the very ſame "Book, according as he can better make uſe of it "for a Snare to thoſe that are about him;" yet though the Doctor confeſſes the Poſſibility of the Truth, yet at the ſame Time he endeavours to baffle and leſſen the Credit of it, by ſuggeſting, "That "the poor Old Woman being an *Iriſh* Papiſt, and "not ready in the Signification of *Engliſh* Words, "had entangled her ſelf by ſuperſtitious Belief, and "doubtful Anſwers about Saints and Charms." A very powerful Suggeſtion to baffle the Truth of an Hiſtorical Account of Matter of Fact. We muſt take the Doctor's Suppoſitions for Arguments againſt naked Truth; but how ſhould this Woman come to believe

believe any Thing ſhe did not underſtand, and how could ſhe ſuppoſe her ſelf to underſtand, not knowing the Signification of Words.

But the Doctor ſeems mightily offended at a ſeeming Reflection made upon the *Common Prayer*, which yet may be really none; for who knows but the Devil may ſubtily ſhew a liking to a good Book, to put ſome Perſons out of Conceit with it? Yet this does not anſwer the Doctor's Intention, in not proving the Perſon poſſeſſed, if other Circumſtances make it evident; nor does the Fallibility of this Rule take away the Poſſibility of perſons being poſſeſſed.

But the Doctor obſerves one Thing further in Mr. *Mather*'s Book, "He took this young Woman "Home, that he might the better make his Obſervations. She often uſed to ſay, that the Witches "brought her an inviſible Horſe, and then ſhe would "ſkip into a Chair, and ſeat her ſelf in a riding Poſture; and after that ſhe would be mov'd as if Ambling and Trotting, and Gallopping, ſhe talked "with inviſible Company, that ſeemed to go with "her, and liſtened for their Anſwers. After Two "or Three Minutes, ſhe would ſeem to think her "ſelf at a Rendevouz with Witches a good way off, "and ſoon after return back upon her imaginary "Horſe, and then come to her ſelf; and once ſhe "told Mr. *Mather* of Three that ſhe ſaid had been "there, and what they had ſaid." To which he adds, "In many other Authors, there are Relations "of Perſons that have been ſeen to lye ſtill intranced "at Home, while they have ſaid they have been at "theſe Witches Meetings." From which he infers:

Firſt, That thoſe that have made no Compact, and are not Witches, may fancy they take theſe airy Journeys with Witches: But though Perſons may be deceived, and imagine ſtrange Things, it does not follow

follow that all must be thus deceived; the Innocence of some Persons does not take away the Crimes of the Guilty; there being a great deal of Difference betwixt Persons owning a Contract, and confessing real Matters of Fact, and consenting to be deluded, and only fantastical Imaginations.

But *Secondly*, the Doctor says, these Journeys and Rendezvouzes are not real, but fantastical Things; and that Mr. *Mather*, and a House-full of Witnesses stood by, and saw her at home in her Chair, when she thought her self at their Meetings. To which I answer, that even those that have made Compact with the Devil, and confess themselves Witches, are deluded by Spirits, and fancy they do what the Spirits act for them; but since what is done is by their Consent, and at their Request, this makes them guilty of those Actions, they being intentionally done and committed by them; and though others are possessed only with Imaginations, yet if those Imaginations proceed from the Suggestions of an evil Spirit, the Person may be said to be possessed, though no Compact were made; and these Persons are only to be distinguished, by the Consent they give to such Thoughts, and the Actions proceeding from them; and if they confess themselves guilty, the Doctor's Insinuations to the contrary cannot render them Guiltless.

But further, the Doctor says, these Journeys, &c. were like fantastick Things, or Dreams; but to this I answer, that we find in Scripture, that Dreams are not fantastick Things only, but often proceed from the Suggestions of good or bad Spirits; for *Joel* ii. 28. we find the Prophet declares, *I will pour out my Spirit upon all Flesh, and your Sons and your Daughters shall Prophesy, your old Men shall dream Dreams, your young Men shall see Visions*; and *Genesis* xxxi. 10. *Jacob* tells us, *It came to pass at the Time that the Cattle conceived, that I lifted up my Eyes, and saw in a Dream,*

a Dream, and behold the Rams which leaped upon the Cattle were Ring-ſtreaked, Speckled, and Griſled. And the Angel of God ſpake unto me in a Dream. Which not not only ſhews, that Spirits can preſent to our Minds true Idea's of Matters of Fact, but that thoſe Idea's are real, and not ſuch imaginary Conceits as the Doctor would ſuppoſe them: And though the Perſon was in the Chair, yet the Repreſentation of the Horſe, and theſe Journeys might be real, depending on the Suggeſtions of an evil Spirit.

Again, *Matth.* 27. 19. When our Saviour was brought before *Pilate, When he was ſet down on the Judgment-Seat, his Wife ſent unto him, ſaying, Have thou nothing to do with that juſt Man; for I have ſuffered many Things this Day in a Dream, becauſe of him.* And if Spirits can thus affect Bodies, and which were real Sufferings becauſe of him, why may not this Woman ſuffer by an evil Spirit, by Means of an evil Agent that employed that Spirit?

But the Doctor proceeds, " Courts of Juſtice may " as well hang People upon their Confeſſions, for " the Murthers they think they commit in their " Dreams, as for what they fancy they do in theſe " Trances." To which I anſwer, that Confeſſions are always eſteemed equal to Proof; and if they confeſs themſelves conſenting, it implies them guilty of the Fact thoſe Spirits did by their Conſent, thoſe Spirits being ſet at Work by them.

Page 101, the Doctor, after ſome ſlight Reflections upon Perſons, who were Men of Note, and of good Characters in the World, tells us, " Here I will " lay before you a brief State of the Facts of thoſe " *New-England Witchcrafts.* My Author, for the " greateſt Part of it, is Mr. *Calef*, a Merchant in " that Plantation." The Doctor believes ſmall Evidence great Arguments on his Side, but on ours will not believe Scripture, Reaſon, the Teſtimony of Witneſſes,

neſſes, nor Peoples own Confeſſions; the Teſtimony of a ſingle Perſon that favours his Cauſe is more prevalent.

But let us ſee how theſe Relations tend to his Advantage. " In the latter end of *February*, 1694, " divers young Perſons belonging to the Family of " Mr. *Parris*, Miniſter of *Salem*, and one or more of " the Neighbourhood, began to act after a ſtrange " and unuſual Manner. They crept into Holes, and " under Chairs and Stools. They uſed Antick Geſtures, and ſpoke ridiculous Speeches, and fell into " Fits. After ſome Time, and a Day of Prayer " kept, the afflicted Perſons named ſeveral that they " ſaid they ſaw in their Fits afflicting them; and in " particular an *Indian* Woman, that lived in Mr. " *Parris*'s Houſe, and had tried a Trick with Rye-" Meal, and the Childrens Water laid in Aſhes, " &c. ſhe being beaten, and threaten'd, confeſs'd " her ſelf to be the Witch, and ſaid the Devil urged " her to ſign a Book. Others confeſſed their being " urged to ſign the Book. One ſaid it was a " Red Book of a conſiderable Thickneſs, and about " a Cubit long.

" In a little Time the Number of the Afflicted " increaſed to Ten. One *Goodwin Cory* was examin-" ed; the afflicted ſaid, ſhe bit, pinched, and " ſtrangled them. They ſaid, they ſaw her Likeneſs " bring a Book to them to ſign. At the Time of " her Tryal, they ſaid, a Black Man whiſpered in " her Ear, and that ſhe had a Yellow Bird, that " even then ſucked betwen her Fingers. Orders " were given to ſearch the Place. The Girl that ſaw " it, ſaid it was now too late, ſhe had removed a " Pin, and put it on her Head; upon Search it was " found, that a Pin was there ſticking upright.

" A Child about Four or Five Years Old, was ac-" cuſed and apprehended. The Accuſers ſaid this

" Child

« Child bit them, and would ſhow the Marks of « ſmall Teeth upon their Arm. As many as the « Child caſt its Eyes upon, would complain that « they were in Torment." Now in theſe Stories the Particulars evidently make it appear, that ſome evil Spirit muſt act at the Requeſt or Conſent of theſe Perſons; and if you diſbelieve the Truth of Witneſſes and Confeſſions, and demonſtrating Circumſtances, we may diſbelieve and reject any Hiſtories as Falſhoods and Impoſitions.

The Doctor mentions ſome Caſes where the Parties did not confeſs, yet if the Proof is ſufficient, a ſtiff denial of Guilt is no Argument of Innocence, when a Man's Safety depends upon it. Amongſt the reſt, he mentions *Rebecca Nurſe*, that was executed. « At firſt the Jury brought her in *Not Guilty*; im- « mediately all the Accuſers in the Court, and ſud- « denly after all the afflicted out of Court, made a « hideous Outcry, to the Amazement not only of « the Spectators, but of the Court. They were ſent « out again, to conſider better of one Expreſſion of « hers, and returning again, they brought her in « *Guilty*." Now if Witneſſes, a Judge and Jury could not judge of her Guilt, how ſhould a ſingle Perſon pretend to think her innocent? Can a ſingle Evidence be of more Force than a Multitude?

To theſe he adds other Inſtances, which are againſt his Purpoſe; « one uſing ſolemn Expreſſions of his « Innocency, the Accuſers witneſſed, that the Black « Man dictated to him." Another « made his « Eſcape Forty Miles from *Salem*, yet it is ſaid, that « the Accuſers told the exact Time when he was ap- « prehended, ſaying, now *Millard* is taken." And though *Giles Cary* pleaded *Not Guilty*, and ſuffered himſelf to be Preſſed; this implied, that he was guilty rather than innocent, and choſe rather to dye that way, than by a publick Execution. He ſays, « the Cart going to the Hill with others, was ſet

" for a Time." The afflicted ſaid the Devil hindered it.

Page the 106th, he tells us of a Queſtion ſtarted, Whether the Devil could afflict in a good Man's Shape? And upon a Belief of this, ſeveral were ſorry for the Death of accuſed Perſons; and *Page* 108, above Fifty that confeſſed themſelves Witches were not executed; and further, *Page* 112, ſeveral who had been upon Juries, made the following Acknowledgment; " we confeſs our ſelves were not capable to " underſtand, nor able to withſtand, the myſterious " Deluſions of the Powers of Darkneſs, and Prince " of the Air.

Now if we conſider what the Doctor hath offered in theſe few Pages, it appears, that he owns that the Devil can afflict in a good Man's Shape; and if ſo, why not in a bad one? This is granting what we contend for, and againſt what the Doctor hath all along been arguing for; and if the Devil can act in any Shape, he may afflict at the requeſt of thoſe who have made a Compact; and conſequently there may be a Compact, and if ſo, a Witch; and if ſuch, why ſhould they not be examined into, and ſuffer according to Merit? Though in the beginning of his Eſſay, he would have them puniſhed by the righteous Judge.

But he ſays, above Fifty confeſſed themſelves Witches, and were not executed, which ſtill might convince him that there were ſuch Creatures, ſince they themſelves ought to know whether they had made any Compact with the Devil, or not. But he ſays, the Jurymen confeſſed they were not able to withſtand the myſterious Deluſions of the Prince of Darkneſs, which further is owning his Power; and if he hath ſuch a Power, why might he not execute his Power upon thoſe Witches, as well as upon them? But Mr. *Caleſ*'s ſingle Teſtimony is not ſufficient Witneſs of what he relates, after ſo many Witneſſes

neſſes to the contrary. We have much more reaſon to queſtion the Truth of what he relates, than of a great many more credible Teſtimonies; but this is an Author after the Doctor's own Heart; and being of his Mind, muſt needs be believed by him; though the unlikelineſs of the Truth of what he ſays, will make others diſbelieve him, ſince what he ſays amounts to no leſs than Contradiction, affirming Poſſeſſions not probable, yet owning them confeſſed.

But the Doctor quotes a further Relation of theſe Matters, publiſhed by Mr. *Cotton Mather*, at the 80th *Page* of his Sixth Book of the Hiſtory of *New-England*, which is as follows: " But that which " chiefly carried Matters on to ſuch a Height, was " the increaſing of Confeſſions, until they amounted " to near upon Fifty; and Four or Six of them upon " their Tryals, owned their Guilt of the Crime, " and were condemned for the ſame, but not exe- " cuted. And many of the Confeſſors confirmed " their Confeſſions with very ſtrong Circumſtances, " as their exact Agreement with the Accuſations of " the Afflicted; their punctual Agreement with the " Accuſations of their fellow Confeſſors; their re- " lating the Times when they covenanted with " Satan, and the Reaſons that moved them thereto. " Their Witch-Meetings, and that they had their " Mock Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the Supper, in " ſome of them: Their ſigning the Devil's Book; " and ſome ſhewed the Scars of the Wounds, which " they ſaid were made to fetch Blood with, to ſign " the Devil's Book: And ſome ſaid, they had Imps " to ſuck them, and ſhewed Sores raw, where they " ſaid they were ſucked by them.

" The afflicted complained that the Spectres which " vexed them, urged them to ſet their Hands to a " Book, preſented to them, (as to them it ſeemed) " with Threatnings of great Torments, if they

" ſigned not, and Promiſes of Eaſe, if they o-
" beyed. Amongſt theſe, *D. H.* as ſhe ſaid,
" (which ſundry others confeſſed afterwards) being
" overcome by the Extremity of her Pains, did ſign
" the Book preſented, and had the promiſed Eaſe;
" and immediately upon it, a Spectre in her Shape
" afflicted another Perſon, and ſaid I have ſigned
" the Book, and have Eaſe, and now do you ſign,
" and ſo ſhall you have Eaſe.

Now, though the Doctor thinks this Story to his Purpoſe, I think it altogether againſt him; for in the firſt Place it proves Compacts, and Conſent to be the Devil's Servant; and though another is brought into the ſame Premunire by the Subtilty of the Devil, yet when they are brought into the ſame Bargain, they are equally guilty, and give way to the Devil's Deluſions; and when they conſent to be his Vaſſals, they ſeem guilty of his Actions in their Name, though he does theſe ill Deeds for them. And though the Devil acts, their Conſent to be his Servants, and to thoſe Actions, makes them guilty, and liable to the Puniſhment due to thoſe Deeds. But to proceed to the Account, as the Doctor relates it, he goes on.

" And one Day the afflicted Perſon pointed at a
" certain Place in the Room, and ſaid there is
" *D. H.* upon which a Man with his Ra-
" pier ſtruck at the Place, though he ſaw no
" Shape, and the afflicted called out, you have given
" her a ſmall prick about the Eye. Soon after this,
" the ſaid *D. H.* confeſſed her ſelf to be made a
" Witch, by ſigning the Devil's Books, and declared
" that ſhe had afflicted the Maid that complained
" of her, and in doing of it had received Two
" Wounds, by a Sword or Rapier; a ſmall one
" about the Eye, which ſhe ſhewed to the Magi-
" ſtrates, and a bigger on the Side, of which ſhe was
" ſearched by a diſcreet Woman, who reported that

" *D. H.* had on her Side the ſign of a Wound newly " healed, *&c.*

" By theſe Things you may ſee how theſe Matters " were carried on, *viz.* chiefly by the Complaints " and Accuſations of the afflicted, and then by the " Confeſſions of the accuſed, condemning themſelves " and others; yet Experience ſhews, that the more " there were apprehended, the more they were af- " flicted by *Satan*; and the Number of the Confeſ- " ſions increaſing, did but increaſe the Number of " the accuſed: And the executing of ſome made " way for the apprehending of others.

Thus we ſee that thoſe that were convicted, not only by their Accuſers and afflicted, but alſo by their own Confeſſions, muſt very probably be puniſhed upon moral Certainty; and if the Numbers apprehended made Satan the buſyer, it appears that warring againſt the Devil and his Angels makes them the more enraged and active; and as the Legion caſt out of one, entered into a whole Herd of Swine, ſo this Diabolical Army, upon ſome Defeats, were more vigorous in their Temptations; which anſwers for what is ſubjoined in this Quotation: " For ſtill the " afflicted complained of being tormented by new " Objects, as the former were removed." But he adds, " Henceforth the Juries generally acquitted " ſuch as were tried, fearing they had gone on too " far before. And Sir *William Phipps*, the Gover- " nor, reprieved all that were condemned, even the " Confeſſors as well as others." So Princes leave off War, when they find great loſs of Subjects; and ſometimes it may be neceſſary to ſpeak the Devil fair.

But he adds the Reaſons why he believed they went too far. Firſt, " The Number greater than " could be imagined to be really guilty." But I ſhould rather think, that the Number of Witneſſes would confirm the Truth of any Thing; but I find

the Doctor likes the leaſt Evidence beſt, becauſe he hath the feweſt for his Opinion.

His Second Reaſon is, " The Quality: Religious " Perſons, that had taken great Pains to bring up " their Children well." This is a peculiar Reaſon. But we ſeldom hear of Religious Perſons accuſing themſelves of ill Deeds, or confeſſing the Practice of *Witchcraft*; their Religion muſt be ſtrangely contrived, and only fit for the Worſhip of the Devil, in which way we find they have been too zealous.

His Third Reaſon is, " Nineteen denying the " Crime to Death." But I ſuppoſe they were tried and condemned by ſufficient Proof and Evidence againſt them, which in any Capital Crime, or of leſs Conſequence, prevails againſt the denying of the Fact, or Thieves and Murtherers would oftener eſcape than they do.

His Fourth Reaſon is, " Upon ceaſing the Proſe- " cution, all was well and quiet." Thus when Sin is unregarded, no Criminals are brought to Juſtice; yet ſevere Laws deter evil Practices, though not put in Execution: Nevertheleſs, ſeveral Crimes are committed, but ſo cunningly, as not to be diſcovered. And Witches ſeldom do much Miſchief, but when their Malice and Envy is ſtirred up by Provocations. And very often the Devil excites his Servants to do Miſchief, that they may diſcover and betray themſelves, having not fully obtained his End, till he hath got them into his Kingdom; and, like a juſt Maſter, gives them an ill Reward for their evil Practiſes.

But let us ſee further what the Doctor offers upon this Subject. He ſays, *Page* 117, " There is no- " thing in this whole Caſe ſeems ſo ſtrange to me, " as what they ſay of evil Spirits appearing in the " Shape of innocent Perſons.

The

The Doctor, notwithſtanding all Proof to the contrary, would ſtill ſuggeſt theſe Perſons fairly convicted innocent; yet evil Spirits appearing in the Shape of innocent Perſons, does not prove ſuch as are lawfully convicted innocent; becauſe they are convicted for evil Actions, and conſequently cannot be innocent Perſons. But it needs not ſeem ſtrange to the Doctor, that the Devil may appear in the Shape of innocent Perſons, ſince the Scripture witneſſes that he hath ſometimes transformed himſelf into the Appearance of an Angel of Light, ſo that he may borrow a Vehicle to make him appear in that Shape; and ſo far I am of the Doctor's Opinion, that, to uſe his own Words, " I can never believe, but that " Divine Providence would interpoſe, and lay their " natural Powers under a Divine Reſtraint, rather " than to ſuffer them to uſe them for ſuch Miſchief." But then I believe what the Doctor ſays, upon theſe Terms, that thoſe Perſons reſiſt Temptations; and this is the Defence good Men have againſt him; but they loſe the Name of good Men, when they give way to Temptations; and upon thoſe Terms Providence hath ſuffered them to do Miſchief; but though the Devil entered into *Judas*, yet the reſt reſiſted ſuch Temptations: Nor can I think Providence would ſuffer any to be poſſeſſed, if they had not in ſome Meaſure forſaken him.

But let us ſee further, what the Doctor hath offered upon this Occaſion. He ſays, " if Magiſtrates " do their Duty in true Judgment, and puniſh Of- " fenders only for their own real acts of Wickedneſs, " not for the Effects that Spirits work in other Mens " Shapes without them, then his Appearances will " hurt no body." To which I anſwer, that Magiſtrates do their Duty, if they puniſh Offenders upon moral Proof, which is legal Teſtimony; and as for the real Acts of Witches, they cannot be done by a Witch only, ſhe being no more than another Wo-

man of her ſelf; for it is her Compact with evil Spirits, and employing them, that makes her a Witch; and as they do Miſchief by their Authority, they are anſwerable for their Crimes, and guilty of their Actions, and conſequently liable to Puniſhment; and as for appearing in their Shapes, they being the Witches Servants, they ought to wear their Livery or Likeneſs, or what other Dreſs or Shape they are fitteſt to do their Work in. But he ſays his Appearances would do no Hurt, if Magiſtrates puniſhed only Offenders for their own Acts: To which I reply, that the Miſchief done on thoſe tortured, is Hurt, I believe, though the Witch were to be ſuppoſed innocent; but ſince the Hurt is done by the Witches hired Servant by Compact, ſhe is guilty of the Hurt.

But the Doctor goes on, " If contrary to the frequent Warnings in Scripture, thoſe who are to judge thoſe Caſes, give evil Spirits the Advantage againſt them, hath God any where promiſed, that by a particular Act of Power, he will ſave credulous Men from being deceived, becauſe otherwiſe the Blood of innocent Men will be in Danger? How Judges can give Spirits any Advantage in deceiving them, or be blamed for their Credulity, I cannot underſtand, when they act upon moral Proof, and downright Confeſſions; ſuch Judgment cannot make them in danger of ſpilling innocent Blood, when they only condemn the Guilty according to Law, and which is warranted by Scripture; nor are there any Warnings in Scripture, not to puniſh evil Doers: This is conſiſtent with the Laws of God and Man. See *Galatians* v. 18, 19, 20, 21. *But if ye be led by the Spirit, ye are under the Law. Now the Works of the Fleſh are manifeſt, which are theſe, Adultery, Fornication, Uncleanneſs, Laſciviouſneſs; Idolatry, Witchcraft, Hatred, Variance,* &c. *and ſuch like; of the which I tell you before, as I have alſo told*

told you in Time paſt, that they which do ſuch Things, ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of God. Where *Witchcraft* is condemned by the Laws of God. And *Exodus* xxii. 18. *Thou ſhalt not ſuffer a Witch to Live.* And again, *Deuteronomy* xviii. 10. *There ſhall not be found amongſt you, any one that maketh his Son or his Daughter to paſs through the Fire, or that uſeth Divination, or an Obſerver of Times, or an Enchanter, or a Witch.* and *Verſe* 11. *Or a Charmer, or a Conſulter with familiar Spirits, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer.* From all which it appears, that the Scripture both believes and condemns this deteſtable Sin; but the Doctor is more merciful, and exceeds infinite Mercy in Compaſſion.

But to proceed, after all this Scuffle, *Page* 118, the Doctor ſays, " I will add ſome Inſtances, where " evil Spirits have been ſaid to have appeared in the " Shapes of thoſe that have not been ſuſpected to be " otherwiſe than very innocent and virtuous Per- " ſons." But ſoon after he ſays, growing modeſt in Vindication of his favourite Relations, " I dare " not aſſure you of my own Belief of the Inſtances " I ſhall give." To which we offer, that a great many evil Actions may be ſecretly committed, before Perſons are ſuſpected, eſpecially having Art enough to deceive the World. But as for the Inſtances, ſince the Doctor ſays he does not believe them, I ſhall not think it worth while to take Notice of them. Only one Thing I cannot but obſerve, which is, that though *Page* 66, he condemns the *Golden Legend*, as containing incredible Stories, and lying Miracles, attributing Miſtakes of this Kind to be built upon Popiſh Superſtitions, yet to ſerve his Turn, he brings a Proof out of Popiſh Legends; ſo that any Thing to ſerve his Turn hath Two Handles, and yet neither of them to be taken hold of.

Page 121 and 122, he ſays, "Since I have collected and drawn up theſe Things, I ſee the Author of the *Compleat Hiſtory of Witchcraft*, &c. hath printed the firſt Facts and Depoſitions, that deceived the People of *New England*; and hath ſtopt there, without giving notice of the Miſtakes that followed.—— And who can be able to give a rational Anſwer to ſuch a Caſe, where the Fact is laid before him ſo partially?" The Doctor is diſguſted, becauſe I have only taken notice of Matters of Fact proved by Depoſitions; but, to ſatisfy the Doctor, the Reaſon why I ſtopt there, was, becauſe I thought nothing worth Notice, but what appear'd to be Truth well atteſted: And it is no little Satisfaction, that the Doctor thinks a rational Anſwer cannot be given againſt them. But how Truths well atteſted ſhould deceive the People, I cannot underſtand, ſince Truths and Falſhoods ought to be diſtinguiſhed: And if they made any Miſtakes, they diminiſh not the Value of what was true, and conſequently not of our *Hiſtory*. But the Doctor charges me with Partiality, becauſe I relate only Truths; which was the Intent of that *Hiſtory*: And, to conclude this Diſcourſe of the *New-England* Witches, I ſhall only ask the Doctor, whether he is not more partial in bringing Relations, which he would ſuppoſe falſe, to leſſen the Credit of Truths? Tho' from what he hath ſaid, it appears, that he hath rather endeavour'd to repreſent them ſo; and hath made uſe of more cunning Evaſions and Inſinuations, than ſtrong Arguments, if any at all.

Of the Witchcrafts *at* Mohra, *in* Sweden.

From what hath been ſaid of the *Witchcrafts* in *New-England*, it appears what Pains the Doctor hath

hath taken to evade the Hiſtories of Matters of Fact, well atteſted by the Authority of Men, the Teſtimony of Scripture, and their own Confeſſions; we ſhall next take a View of what he hath ſaid in reſpect of the *Witchcrafts* at *Mohra*, in *Sweden*.

Page 123, he ſays, "The Narrative of their Caſe "is ſaid to be taken out of the Records of the "Court, ſoon after the Time, and is ſince tranſla- "ted out of *High-Dutch* by Dr. *Horneck*, and is "printed at the End of Mr. *Glanvil*, and Dr. *More*'s "Relations of *Witches* and *Spirits*. There were "condemned at one Time of Judgment, no longer "ſince than 1670, Fourſcore and five Perſons, Fif- "teen of whom were Children, and moſt, if not "all of them, were burnt and executed." To this atteſted Truth upon Record, and credited by ſuch worthy Perſons, after ſome trivial Banter, he ſays, "Tho' it be a great Diſadvantage to anſwer, where "one hath little or no Account of the Fact—— yet "it confutes it ſelf." So that tho' the Doctor hath little or no Account of the Fact, which is recorded as Truth, yet he will undertake to banter us out of our Belief, by his undeniable Method of Evaſion and Suggeſtion. And, firſt, he calls the Records of Matters of Fact, *ſuppoſed Witchcrafts*; and brings in his canting Notion of Principles; as if no body had good Principles but himſelf, who contradicts the Teſtimony of Scripture and Moral Proof, yet blames others, who upon good Grounds purſue the direct Commands of Scripture, in diſcouraging and puniſhing ſuch Vices. As for his Notion of Principles, that having been often anſwer'd to, to avoid as much as poſſible vain Tautologies, we ſhall only refer the Reader to what hath been ſaid of the *New-England* Witches, the ſame Evaſions being there propoſed by this Learned Author.

Page 124, and 125, he obſerves, " There were " Three Hundred Children ſaid to be carried away " every Night, out of one Town, to *Blockula*. The " Children ſaid, they were ſure they were there in " body; for the Devil fed them at the Door, while " the Witches ſat down with him at the Table." To prove this, the Doctor calls for Witneſſes, after recorded and proved before Judge and Jury; and, to leſſen the Credit of recorded Truths, adds the ſuppoſed Teſtimony of a Clergyman, ſaying, " One Clergyman ſat up and watch'd, and ſhewed his Wife " the Child in Bed all Night; only about Twelve " a-Clock, the Child groaned and ſhiver'd." But who knows, whether this Clergyman ſat up or not? May he not be as fallacious as other Clergymen the Doctor accuſes of Impoſitions? Or might not Dr. *Horneck*, *Glanvil*, and Dr. *More*'s Belief, be as prevailing, as Dr. *Hutchinſon*'s Unbelief of theſe Tales? But about Twelve a-Clock, the Child groaned and ſhiver'd: This the Doctor would needs attribute to dreaming of the Devil; when " the poor " Women of the Town confeſs what the Children " ſaid of them.

But the Doctor is further diſturbed with " *Monſtrous Abſurdities*;" what others believe upon real Proof, the Doctor's Genius, being beyond Faith, equal to his ſuperabundant Clemency, would neither believe what is proved, nor puniſh the convicted. But muſt every Thing that is *monſtrous* be abſurd in reſpect of Belief, that is ſo in regard to the common Rule of Reaſon? Or would he have the monſtrous Actions of Witches and Devils, to be like thoſe that are natural? They are *monſtrous Creatures*; and therefore the Scripture deems them not fit to live, becauſe their Actions are like themſelves.

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" These Women and Children, they say, rode " to *Blockula* upon Men; and those Men, when " they came there, were reared against the Wall " asleep. Then again they rode upon Posts, or up- " on Goats, with Spits stuck into their Backsides. " They flew thro' Chimneys and Windows, with- " out breaking either Brick or Glass. When they " were there, they lay with the Devil, and had " Sons and Daughters; and those Children were " married, and brought forth Toads and Serpents. " Then they build Houses, and Walls fall upon " them, and make them black and blue." These Things the Doctor believes to be *monstrous*; and I would ask the Doctor, Does any body think them natural? Are the Devil's Works like, or according to the Laws of Nature? But as we said before, and in our *History*, no doubt but in some Things the Devil deludes, and makes them believe that what he does by their Consent, is done by them: But as long as it is by their Consent, and upon Compact, they may be said to do it, and are guilty of such Actions.

He adds; " They are beaten, and abused, and " laugh'd at; and yet when they thought the De- " vil had been dead, they made great Lamenta- " tion." I would ask the Doctor, when ever did the Devil use his Servants so kindly? Does he not torment them after Death, for serving him in their Lifetime? And if they were sorry for the Loss of so bad a Master, it might be, because they could not pursue their malicious Intentions without his Assistance; or were like to lose those Advantages, that encourage People to follow such evil and abominable ways.

But it is said, *Page* 126, " That at that very Time, " while they were in Court before the Commission- " ers, the Devil appeared to them very terrible, " with Claws on his Hands and Feet, and with

" Horns

" Horns on his Head, and a long Tail behind; " and ſhewed them a Pit burning, with a Hand put " out; but the Devil did thruſt the Perſon down " again with an Iron Fork." Here the Doctor asks, Whether there was really then any Pit burning? To anſwer which, I ask, Whether repreſenting ſuch a Thing to Appearance, was not an Argument of the Devil's Power in forming Apparitions? And then, why may he not make the People believe they do what nothing but a Spirit can do? But their Conſent and Compact makes 'em guilty of the Fact: And if ſuch Creatures forſake God, and ſerve the Devil in Will only, is not *the Wages of Sin Death?*

Page 127, the Doctor goes on thus: " They ſay " they have Two Spirits, called *Carriers*, the one " like a Cat, the other like a Raven; and theſe fetch " them home Butter, and Cheeſe, and Bacon, and " all Sorts of Seeds, and Milk. Now, to paſs by " the reſt, pray tell me, how this Cat and Raven " brought home Milk? A Cat or Raven could not " well carry a Pail; or Pitcher, for their Milk." The Queſtion is not only ridiculous, but the Anſwer much more: For, as to the Queſtion; If the Devil can appear in any Shape, no doubt but he might in thoſe to human Sight, and yet be in his own Shape unſeen, and carry a greater Burthen than they had Occaſion for. Did not he carry our Saviour, and ſet him upon a Pinacle of the Temple? Which proves him capable of moving bodily Subſtances: As *Matth.* 4. 5. *Then the Devil taketh him up into the holy City, and ſetteth him on a Pinacle of the Temple.* And *v.* 8. *Again the Devil taketh him up into an exceeding high Mountain.* And if the Devil was able to carry our Saviour thus about, why may he not tranſport Witches about at his Pleaſure, or ſupply them with any Thing they want? As for the Anſwer; what can be more ridiculous, than to

ſup-

ſuppoſe or call the Devil a Cat or a Raven, when he only appears in thoſe Shapes?

The Doctor proceeds: "I can deviſe no way, unleſs they drank it firſt, and then ſpewed it up again for the Witches to drink after them. And I think, the 15th *Page* intimates that it was this way; for there it is ſaid, That theſe *Carriers* ſometimes fill themſelves ſo full, that they open by the way; which Spewing is found in ſeveral Gardens where the Colworts grow, and not far from the Houſes of thoſe Witches, and is called *Butter of Witches.*" The Doctor adds, "I could be glad I could find a way of repreſenting the Folly of this, without reflecting upon the *Swediſh* Commiſſioners and Dr. *Horneck.*" But Dr. *Hutchinſon* will find the Folly of this Argument much harder to be repreſented without reflecting upon his Character; and I am ſorry he ſhould place ſuch mean Banter in the Room of Arguments. The Word *deviſe* is indeed, I think, of his own Deviſement; but, without drinking it up, and ſpewing it again, I have juſt now made it appear, that the Devil can carry greater Burthens than a Pitcher of Milk, and in an unſeen Shape, tho' he may appear in another. And as for their ſpewing up Milk, that might be done at ſuch Places mentioned, having fill'd themſelves with it, beſides what they otherwiſe carried: So that the Intimation of the Doctor's Way, is Banter inſtead of Reaſon; and I can ſcarce believe, that he truly thinks this way the intimated way of *Page* the 15th. And though he, in the next *Page*, would ſuppoſe this Milk the ſame with the Froth he mentions, and to come from the Graſhoppers; yet the Quantity that would fill a Cat or a Raven, which intimates it not to be that which comes from Graſhoppers; tho' the latter might be called *Witches Butter*, from ſome Likeneſs with the former. Beſides, this which comes from Graſhoppers, is called

ſo

ſo by the Rabble; the other *Witches Butter*, by thoſe the Doctor is too timorous in ridiculing with a ſuppoſitious Overſight, which appears to be none.

But *Page* 128, and 129, he takes notice, that "they were not theſe Circumſtances, but their own "Confeſſions, which were the Grounds of their "Condemnation." But in Anſwer to this, he ſays, "*Confeſſio rei impoſſibilis, non eſt Confeſſio ſanæ "mentis*: A Confeſſion of a Thing impoſſible, is "not the Confeſſion of a ſound Mind. That will "always be an inviolable Rule with wiſe Judges." A very good Suggeſtion for the Doctor's Purpoſe, but not proper in this Caſe. For tho' it is not reaſonable a ſound Mind ſhould confeſs Actions impoſſible for human Nature, or a Woman; yet a Witch, who acts by virtue of an evil Spirit, tho' in a ſound Mind, may confeſs Things done by her Conſent and Direction, which are ſupernatural, and impoſſible for her alone, yet poſſible to that evil Spirit ſhe employs: So that thoſe Things which are impoſſible for a Woman that is not a Witch, are poſſible for a Witch, who acts by ſupernatural Aſſiſtance or Concurrence. So that the Doctor's Rule comes ſhort of being an unavoidable Rule in the Caſe of *Witchcraft*.

But the Doctor would ſtill inſinuate, this Confeſſion is extorted, or that they are perſuaded: But what Perſuaſions of human Kind can oblige People to confeſs a Crime, which makes them liable to ſuffer Death? Yet we ſee, in other Capital Crimes, Men often confeſs; their guilty Conſciences ſtrongly accuſing them, and making them conclude it an unavoidable Neceſſity, and that it is impoſſible for them to eſcape.

Of

Of the Witches *of* Warbois.

It appearing, from what hath been ſaid of the *Witchcraft* of *Sweden*, that what the Doctor hath offer'd in relation to that, cannot diminiſh the Credit which ought to be given to ſuch undeniable Facts; we ſhall next ſee, what he hath to ſay in relation to the *Witches* of *Warbois*.

He begins: "The *Witches* of *Warbois* are well "known; Old *Samuel* and his Wife, and *Agnes* "*Samuel*, their Daughter, were condemn'd at *Hun-* "*tingdon*, by Mr. Juſtice *Fenner*, *April* 4. 1573, "for bewitching Five of Mr. *Throgmorton*'s Chil- "dren, Seven Servants, the Lady *Cromwell*, and the "Gaoler's Man, *&c.* The Father and Daughter "maintained their Innocence to the laſt; but the "Old Woman confeſſed.

"That which makes the Execution more remark- "able, is, That Sir *Samuel Cromwell*, Husband of "the aforeſaid Lady *Cromwell*, having the Goods "of theſe People eſcheated to him, to the Value of "Forty Pounds, as Lord of the Manor, gave the "ſaid Forty Pounds to the Mayor and Aldermen of "*Huntingdon*, for a Rent-Charge of Forty Shil- "lings yearly, to be paid out of their Town-Lands, "for an annual Lecture on the Subject of *Witch-* "*craft*, to be preach'd at their Town every *Lady-* "*Day*, by a Doctor or Batchelor of Divinity of "*Queen's-College* in *Cambridge*. This Lecture is "continued to this Day.

To this the Doctor wiſely, and with a good Meaning, anſwers: "I make no Queſtion but that "Learned Body hath taken care to have that Le- "cture preached by ſuch grave, judicious Perſons," (by which he ſeems to reflect upon his own Gown, as if ſome were neither grave nor judicious) "as

"would

" would teach the People ſafe Notions (ſo that we may ſuppoſe, according to his Suggeſtion, that ſome preach unſafe Notions) " concerning *Witch-* " *craft*, and diſcourage them from imitating any " Thing that was amiſs in that Proſecution." So that thoſe that are of the Doctor's Opinion may hope for grave and judicious Characters, but thoſe who are otherwiſe muſt expect the contrary. Here the Wiſdom of a whole Learned Body is called in Queſtion, leſt his Notion of Principles ſhould be brought into Suſpicion. It is a wonder they ſhould admit of a Lecture being founded in Memory of ſuch a Proſecution, or Condemnation: This ſeems to deſerve the Doctor's Cenſure.

But he goes on, after his reſolved Method of Argument: " And as for the Donation, there is no " doubt but that Superſtition makes as large Offer- " ings as true Religion; and that many Gifts have " been given, to ſupport the Credit of doubtful " Actions: And therefore I will paſs over the Le- " cture, and conſider the Fact." In the foregoing Part of his *Eſſay*, the Doctor charged the *Papiſts* and *Diſſenters* with Superſtition; but now the Church and all are guilty, and not only of Superſtition, but Bribery to maintain a Cauſe: For he ſays, Many Offerings and Gifts have been given to ſupport it; which is directly charging the Miniſters of the Goſpel with that deteſtable Crime, becauſe they preach againſt that Sin which the Scripture hath forbidden, and which this whole *Eſſay* ſeems to favour.

But as to the Fact, he ſays, " It ought to be ob- " ſerved, that this Proſecution was not grounded " upon any previous Acts of Sorcery, that theſe " People had been taken in, but upon Experi- " ments and Charms, which the Proſecutors com- " pelled them to uſe, and tried upon them." To

which

which I anſwer, that there muſt be a previous Suſpicion, before any Proſecution can be made; for no body can be ſaid to be proſecuted for a Crime, without Accuſation, which implies a previous Act, tho' it be not fully proved: Nor is there any full Proof till they come upon Trial, and if then the Fact be proved, it juſtifies the Proſecution, as in this Caſe; for if the Fact had not been proved, they would not have been condemned: Therefore the Doctor's Suggeſtion muſt be wrong. Beſides, it is worth obſerving, that the Doctor makes uſe of his uſual Art, to gain his Cauſe if poſſible, and gives Judgment of the Beginning, before the Beginning is ſtated; which is managed with ſome Cunning, for the Caſe being ſtated, would alter the Judgment.

But after Judgment made, he proceeds to the Beginning, and ſays; "Then the Beginning of it is "ſuch, as makes the whole Thing deſervedly ſuſpect-"ed. One of the Daughters had Fits, and was ill; "but there were no Signs or Thoughts of Witch-"craft, till this Mother *Samuel* (living near them) "came in to ſee her, and ſat in the Chimney-Cor-"ner, with a black Knit Cap upon her Head; and "when the Child in her Fit ſaw her, ſhe look'd "like an old Witch; and from that Time ſhe took "a Fancy, that Mother *Samuel* had bewitch'd her." To which I anſwer, That this Proſecution was not without Grounds of Sorcery; for tho' ſhe did not accuſe her at firſt, yet her accuſing her afterwards, was Ground to believe ſhe was guilty of the firſt Act. Beſides, how ſhould an innocent Child think of her Diſtemper proceeding from *Witchcraft*; except ſhe had ſome private Cauſe to think her a *Witch?* And further; her Phyſicians would have diſtinguiſhed betwixt the Symptoms of real and natural Diſtempers, and Accidents that proceeded from ſupernatural Cauſes; and if they could have found thoſe Fits the Effects of natural Cauſes, that would have

have cleared the old Woman from any Suſpicion; but ſince upon this Suſpicion ſhe was accuſed, and upon further Proof was proſecuted, convicted, and likewiſe confeſſed, this was ſufficient to prove her guilty the whole Time, and moral Proof was enough to confirm the Truth of the whole.

But the Doctor ſays, " after that, the other Chil-" dren had the ſame Fears and Fancies, and Fits " like hers; and nothing is more common than for " Children to take ſuch Frights from one another." The Doctor readily calls extraordinary Fits diſtinguiſhable from common Diſtempers, Fears and Fancies; a very artful way of ſoftening the Caſe, after a full Proof and Conviction. But it is not a little ſurprizing to me, that Children ſhould take ſuch Fits from one another; for though the Doctor ſays nothing is more common, it is ſo ſeldom, that it never happens. I have read moſt Phyſick Books worth reading, but never heard any ſuch Thing before; nor have I, for above Twenty Years, ever ſeen it; no Fits being catching, except *Epilepſies*; and when it ſeems to happen, it is rather imagined than real; beſides, *Epilepſies* are Diſtempers that have a long Time been ſo well known, that they might have eaſily been diſcovered, and diſtinguiſhed from extraordinary Fits of a ſupernatural Kind.

But, " after this, the Lady *Cromwell*, to whoſe " Huſband theſe *Samuels* were Tenants, came to " Mr. *Throgmorton*'s Houſe. She ſent for the old " Woman, and called her Witch, and abuſed her, " and called her Kercher, and cut off ſome of her " Hair, and gave to Mrs. *Throgmorton* to burn, for " a Charm. At Night this Lady, as very likely ſhe " would, after ſuch an ill Days Work, dream'd of " Mother *Samuel*, and a Cat, and fell into Fits, " and in about a Year and a Quarter died. And if " her Death was really occaſioned by the Fits that " began then, I can only count it a juſt Conſequence

" of

" of her Sin, and Folly, and Superſtition." The Doctor is very charitable to an old Witch, but very uncharitable and unmerciful to the unfortunate Lady; he would ſave and excuſe the Witch, that ought not to Live, but would count it juſt for the Lady to ſuffer Death, for pulling off the old Woman's Kircher, and a ſmall Abuſe that was deſerving. He ſhews a mighty Friend to old Witches; ſurely he need not fear the Devil, who is ſo kind to his Works, and the Promoters of his Intereſt upon Earth.

After this mighty faint Stroke to diſcredit the Belief of the Witches of *Warbois*, the Doctor gives an Account of Mother *Samuel*'s Imps, and their Tricks; and that we may better judge of the Force of his Reflections, and eſpecially becauſe we think they confirm the Truth of the Proſecution, and ſhew the Weakneſs of his Judgment, or his Partiality in this Caſe; what he relates, is as follows:

" It is ſaid in that Narrative, that there were " Nine Spirits that belonged to theſe People and cal- " led Mother *Samuel* their old Dame. Two of " their Names I have forgot, but the other Seven " were *Pluck*, *Hardname*, *Catch*, *Three Smacks* " that were *Couſins*, and *Blew*. The Children ſeem- " ed to talk with theſe Spirits in their Fits. The " Standers by neither ſaw any Shape, nor heard any " Voice, only underſtood what the Spirits ſaid, by " the Childrens Anſwers, and by what the Children " told them afterwards. I will give you a Specimen " of one, which you may find in the Narrative. " The Dialogue was between one of the *Smacks*, " and Mrs. *Joan*, the eldeſt Daughter of Mrs. " *Throgmorton*, about the Age of Sixteen or Seven- " teen Years; and as the Thoughts of young Wo- " men about that Age, were upon Love and Court- " ſhip, ſhe thought *Smack* was in Love with her, " and ſought to win her Favour, and taught her

" Charms,

" Charms, and fought for her, and promiſed to " bring his old Dame either to Confeſſion or Confu- " ſion. The Dialogue it ſelf is as follows.

" From whence come you, Mr. *Smack*, and what " News do you bring? The Spirit anſwered, that he " came from Fighting. From Fighting, ſaid ſhe, " with whom, I pray you? The Spirit anſwered, " with *Pluck*. Where did you Fight, I pray, ſaid " ſhe? The Spirit anſwered, in his old Dame's Bake- " Houſe, which is an old Houſe ſtanding in Mother " *Samuel*'s Yard, and they fought with great Cowl- " ſtaves, laſt Night. And who got the Maſtery, I " pray you, ſaid ſhe? He anſwered; That he broke " *Pluck*'s Head. Said ſhe, I would that you had " broke your Neck alſo. Said the Spirit, is that all " the Thanks I have for my Labour? Why, ſays ſhe, " Do you look for Thanks at my Hand? I would " you were all hang'd up one againſt another, and " Dame and all, for you are all naught; but it is no " Matter, ſaid ſhe, I do not well to Curſe you, for " God, I hope, will defend me from you all. So he " departed, and bad her Farewell.

" Soon after ſhe ſees *Pluck* coming in, with his " Head hanging down, and he told her again of " the Battel, and how his Head was broke. When " he was gone, *Catch*, ſhe ſaid, came in limping, " with a broken Leg. And after him, *Blew* brought " his Arm in a String; but they threatned, that " when they ſhould be well, they would join toge- " ther, and be revenged of *Smack*. Next Time " that *Smack* came, ſhe told him of their Deſign, " but ſhe ſet them at light. He bragged that he " could beat Two of them himſelf, and his Couſin " *Smack* would be of his Side." The Doctor ſays nothing to theſe Relations, but that they are as ridiculous as the Popiſh Legends; ſo that he needs muſt

ſay

ſay ſomething to intimate a Diſlike, though he cannot contradict the Narrative.

Yet ſtill, notwithſtanding all this Evidence againſt her, and her own Confeſſion, the Doctor would needs repreſent her Confeſſion extorted. He ſays, "But by long ill Uſage, her Huſband on one Side "ſwearing at her, and beating her, and on the "other Side Mr. *Throgmorton*, and his Children, "ſcratching of her, and trying unfair Tricks, and "keeping her from Home, amongſt his Children, I "reckon that her Health was ſo impaired, that one "Night ſhe was vapoured to that Degree, that ſhe "thought the Devil was in her." A cunning way of arguing; the Doctor's Reckoning, or Suppoſition, that ſhe was weak and vapoured, though he knows nothing of the Matter, muſt paſs for Argument againſt her Confeſſion. As for her Huſband's beating her, that could not be much, ſince he was not much at Home, but was kept amongſt the Children, to keep her in Awe, and fear of doing Miſchief; nor could ſhe want Victuals in a Houſe, where, no doubt, ſhe was much made of enough, to keep her luſty, and well in Health, as well as to pleaſe her, and make her good humoured.

But ſtill he would have her Confeſſion extorted; "The Children begg'd with Tears that ſhe would con-"feſs, for then they ſaid they ſhould be well, if ſhe "confeſſed, and they would forgive her from the "bottom of their Hearts; and beſides, that they "would intreat their Friends and Parents ſo much "as in them lay, clearly to forgive, and forget all "that was paſt,——but this would not do." Therefore this could not extort her Confeſſion, ſhe being too obſtinate to yield to eaſe thoſe ſhe had exerciſed her Cruelty and Malice ſo long upon. But this ſhewed, that the Children had a great deal of Reaſon to think ſhe was the Author of their Miſchief, to pray ſo heartily for Relief from her.

"But

" But Mr. *Throgmorton* prevailed with her to " charge the Spirit, in the Name of God, that they " might have no more Fits. She yielded to that, " and then the Children would grow well." This plainly ſeems to imply, that the Miſchief was managed through her Occaſion: But the Doctor, to take off the Force of this Demonſtration, would ſuppoſe, " this ſurprized the poor Woman, and " very likely made her believe, that all had pro- " ceeded from her ill Tongue." The Doctor kindly ſuppoſes a Surprize, yet this could never make her believe ſuch Things ſhould proceed from her ill Tongue, except ſhe had Power, and knew that ſhe had an ill Tongue. But he further ſuppoſes, that " having been told ſo often, that if ſhe would but " confeſs, all would be well, and they forgive her, " might make her confeſs;" but this Method before was found ineffectual. Yet further it is urged, " That then Mr. *Throgmorton* was angry, and " threatned to carry her before the Biſhop of " *Bugden*; but upon Condition that ſhe might not " be carried there, ſhe promiſed to confeſs again." Now would the Biſhop of *Bugden*'s Preſence oblige her to confeſs, if ſhe was innocent? She ſhould rather have deſired to be carried to prove her Innocency.

Bdt let us ſee further, how the Devil contrives to betray his Servants into his own Power, to make them pay for the Service he has done them. " About " this Time, the Spirits, as they ſaid, taught them, " but, in Truth, their own Folly led them to uſe a " Charm to try them by; and though it was a deſ- " perate Snare to their own Lives, Mr. *Throgmorton* " had that Power, that they made the poor Woman " ſay it an Hundred Times over." Here we may obſerve how well the Doctor manages the Cauſe to his Advantage, by interlarding the Truth with his Suppoſitions; as, they ſaid, and then ſuggeſts their own

Folly

Folly led them to it. But let us conſider, whether Folly could make them wiſe; and ſo wiſe, as to know what Charm would make the Witches betray themſelves; is it not more like, that the Subtilty of theſe Spirits ſhould direct them to Charms?

The Charm the Spirits directed them to, was: "I charge thee, thou Devil, as I love thee, and "have Authority over thee, and am a Witch, and "guilty of this Matter, that thou ſuffer this Child "to be well at preſent. Upon ſaying of this, the "Children would come out of their Fits." But the Author of the Eſſay ſays, "In Probability they could "either put themſelves into their Fits, or out of "them, when they would. And therefore it is ob"ſervable, that when any Times were ſet, that they "could be free from their Fits till that Day, it was "excepted, unleſs Strangers came. And if any "Strangers did happen to come, then they never "failed to have them." A very likely Story! that Fits which were commanded off by a particular Charm, ſhould be caſt off, or brought on at Pleaſure; and how ſtrange is it to ſuppoſe, that a Gentleman ſhould think it reaſonable, or Pleaſure, to torment his Children, to afford Strangers ſuch ungrateful Entertainment? Or that Children ſhould torment themſelves, to pleaſe others?

But if nothing elſe will do, the Doctor would repreſent the Judge unſkilful in theſe Matters; but this is contrary to his eſteemed Character. The Doctor offers one Paſſage at the Tryal of the old Man. He made no Confeſſion, but was obſtinate in affirming his Innocence; yet the Judge told him, "that if he would not ſpeak the Words of "the Charm, the Court would hold him guilty of "the Crimes he was accuſed of, and ſo at length, "with much ado, the ſaid *Samuel*, with a loud "Voice ſaid, in the Hearing of all preſent; as I

"am

" am a Witch, and did consent to the Death of the " Lady *Cromwell*, so I charge thee, Devil, to suffer " Mrs. *Jane* to come out of her Fits at this present, " ——upon this she came out of her Fit. Then the " Judge said, You see all, she is now well, but not " by the Musick of the Devil's Harp, *&c.*" The Daughter also was upon a like Discovery found Guilty. Yet the Doctor would represent her a virtuous Woman; and after some ridiculous Passages betwixt both, to excuse both after Conviction, the Doctor closes his Remarks, with calling these Relations ridiculous; but from what he hath said, his Remarks seem much more so; reflecting upon his Brethren for commemorating this impious Piece of *Witchcraft*, and charging the Gown with little less than Bribery to support the Credit of evil Actions.

The Doctor closes this Case with a Reflection upon the ill Author of the *Compleat History of Witchcraft*; but I am not very sensible upon what Grounds he places that Reflection, having offered nothing but what I have here proved consonant to Reason, moral Proof, and the Testimony of Scripture; but from what hath been said in his Essay, it's manifest, that he opposes those Things which are agreeable with Scripture, and justified by the Laws both of God and Man, as will appear from the several Texts of Scripture quoted in this Vindication; and instead of Arguments, flies to artful Insinuations, and weak Evasions.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Containing Remarks on what the Doctor hath ſaid on the Tryal before my Lord Chief Baron Hale, *of* Richard Dugdale, *or the* Surrey *Demoniac; and the Caſe of* Jane Wenham, *in* Hertfordſhire.

HAving in the foregoing Chapter made it appear, how weakly the Doctor hath oppoſed the Credit of our Hiſtory of *Witchcraft*, and ſome Caſes mentioned in it, and how little he hath ſaid to favour his own Suggeſtions, I ſhall next proceed to conſider what he hath to ſay, in Relation to the Perſons tried and condemned by our late excellent Lord Chief Baron *Hale*.

Page 140, he ſays, "I have as true an Honour "and Reverence for that great and good Man——but "we muſt not ſo far forget the common Frailty of "our human Nature, as to think it ſtrange for a "great Man to be once miſtaken." Here the Doctor cannot deny the Goodneſs of this great Man, yet thinks it neceſſary to leſſen the Eſteem of what he deſigns to oppoſe, and obſtruct the Luſtre of his ſhining Character, leſt it ſhould be too bright for him to face; as *Moſes*, Exod. xxxiv. 33. *had a Vail over his Face, whilſt he ſpoke to the Children of Iſrael*, leſt the ſhining of his Face, when he came out of Mount *Sinai*, ſhould be too bright, and dazzle them. But methinks the Doctor, having ſo much Honour and Reverence for this great and good Man, ſhould not vail him with the common Frailty of human Nature, much more to tell him he was miſtaken. A Judge is not miſtaken, if his Judgment is

upon moral Proof; he is not to anſwer for the Miſtakes of Evidence; but I find no body can be in the right, that is not of his Opinion.

He goes on, "In the firſt Place it ſeems to me, "that there are ſeveral Signs of a great Zeal and "Eagerneſs in the Proſecutions. They laid Thir-"teen ſeveral Indictments againſt him." The Doctor continues his Tenderneſs over theſe Creatures, and ſeems of a different Kidney from the Prophets and Apoſtles, ſince they oppoſe Vice, eſpecially thoſe of the worſt Kind, with Zeal and Eagerneſs, denouncing heavy Judgments, Death, Hell, and everlaſting Torments, againſt ſuch Offenders: And if they had given Occaſion for Thirteen ſeveral Indictments, ſuch vile Offenders ought to be proſecuted with a Zeal equal to their abominable and notorious Crimes. So that to juſtify this Zeal, I need but make uſe of the Doctor's own Words ſubjoined, which aggravate what he would excuſe, *viz.* "By this "Means they gave in Evidence of Things that had "been ſaid long before, and at diſtant Times and "Places; and when they were laid together, they "ſupported one another, and made a greater Ap-"pearance of Guilt, than they had at the ſeveral "Times when they were done." Thus it is in other Capital Crimes, or even common Caſes, old Offenders are treated according to the Nature of the Circumſtances; and when one hath been frequently guilty of Thefts, and a great many Indictments are brought in againſt one Man, they make a ſtronger Preſumption of the evil Diſpoſition of the Perſon accuſed, and conſequently he is more deſerving of the Rigor of the Law. And when an old Offender is accuſed but of a ſingle Fact, if it appear that he hath formerly committed Crimes of the ſame Nature, though the laſt Fact be leſs conſiderable in it ſelf, he is looked upon as an egregious Sinner; and, according to the Cuſtom of Courts of Judicature, is

brought

brought to condign Punishment, and suffers the Extremity of the Law.

He goes on, "Notwithstanding this, consider how "very few Things they could prove, that were real "Facts of the supposed Witches doing." To which I answer, that if they proved but a few real Facts, as he owns, the Witches accused must be real, and not supposed Witches, as he calls them.

He proceeds, "One single Witness, *Dorothy Du-*"*rent*, confessed of her self, that which was a more "Criminal Act of Sorcery, than all they could prove "against the accused Parties." Here the Doctor owns, that the Parties committed some, because he says the Witnesses acted more. So that by his Charge, both the Person accused, and the Witness, must be Witches. He would excuse the accused Witch, yet accuses the other of Sorcery himself; now since the Doctor is an Accuser as well as *Durent*, Who must excuse *Durent*, who is accused by him? And who must blame the Doctor, for accusing her? That which he blames *Durent* for, he is guilty of himself; and by the Law that he condemns other Accusers, he ought to be tried. But I find the Doctor hath as much Infallibility as the Pope; he is in the right, let the Case be what it will, and suits his Opinion, as Conveniency requires.

But further, he says, "For of Facts of their do-"ing, I see little besides giving a Child an empty "Breast Seven Years before, to quiet it, and giving "another a little Water, which is usually done in "Vapours." I never heard of a young Child being troubled with what Physicians call Vapours before, or that Water was a Medicinal Prescription; but I suppose the Doctor may have some unknown Physick-Book lodged in the profound Obscurity, where these Papers slept so many Years.

But to proceed, he ſays, " The ſaid *Dorothy Durent* having been with a Witch Doctor, acknowledges upon Oath, that by his Advice, ſhe hanged up the Child's Blanket in the Chimney, found a Toad in it at Night; had put it into the Fire, and held it there, though it made a great and horrible Noiſe, and flaſhed like Gunpowder, and went off like a Piſtol, and then became inviſible; and that by this the Priſoner was ſcorched, and burnt lamentably.

Now what can the Doctor ſay to this, which is an evident Argument and Proof of a Diabolical Power? Truly he uſes his uſual, powerful, and unreſiſtable Banter and Ridicule. " I do not believe this Witneſs; for ſhe muſt be a ſilly looſe Woman, or ſhe would not have gone to the Witch Doctor." A good Reaſon to make her a ſilly looſe Woman; for the Doctor believes there are Witch-Doctors, though he will allow none to be Witches, but Accuſers of Witches. What then muſt Accuſers of theſe Accuſers be? But,

" She ſays, ſhe believed her a Witch, yet left her Child to be tended by her." How could ſhe believe her a Witch, before ſhe knew her Actions? But after the Child had been with her, then it was ſhe blamed her for what ſhe did.

" She ſays, the Priſoner was very much ſcorched and burnt with Fire, and yet no Scars, or ſigns of Burning, were ſhewn——and therefore I believe ſhe was a lying old Woman." Strong Arguments to invalidate a Witneſs! How does the Doctor know but the Marks of Burning were ſhewn, and did appear? Nothing can be offer'd to the contrary, but the Doctor's good Word; for by her Oath it ſhould be true, and in Defence of the old Woman's Reputation I muſt needs ſay, it does not appear ſhe was a lying old Woman, for the Marks muſt be ſhewn, or how could they tell ſhe was burnt?

The

The reſt of *Page* 141, and 142, the Doctor goes on to prove them both Witches, and turns Witch Accuſer himſelf: And I believe, talking much longer upon the Subject, would alter his Opinion, and make him believe what he hath hitherto ſo cruelly diſcouraged, with Inſinuations and Evaſions; for he ſeems to purſue the Accuſer *Durent*, with that Zeal and Eagerneſs he complained of the Page before; and I believe I may ſay to the Doctor, as *Paul* ſaid to *Agrippa*, Acts xxvi. 27, 28. *King Aprippa, believeſt thou the Prophets? I know that thou believeſt. Then Agrippa ſaid unto Paul, Almoſt thou perſuadeſt me to be a Chriſtian.* But to ſhew how vigorouſly the Doctor accuſes *Durent*, I ſhall quote his own Words.

" But ſuppoſe it literally true, as ſhe ſaith; and " what follows? Why, the only ſure Concluſion is, " that ſhe charg'd her ſelf with real Sorcery in " all its Steps and Gradations. She firſt departed " from God, by forſaking his way of Prayer, and " natural Means, and leaving the Event to his Pro- " vidence. She employed the Devil, by the uſe of a " Charm, which ſhe knew could have no Effect " without the Devil's Help. After ſhe found a " Toad in the Child's Blanket, which could not get " into it in the Chimney, but by the ſame Power; " as Witches uſe to roaſt the Repreſentation of the " Party to be afflicted, ſo ſhe burnt the Toad; and, " if there be any Truth in her Words, afflicted this " *Roſe Callender*, the Priſoner, by that Act of hers. " And what Judgment can be made of this Matter? " Why firſt, take it in the hardeſt Senſe againſt the " Priſoner, and imagine, that by ſome Prior Acts " of Sorcery, ſhe had made her ſelf ſubject to this " Power of the Devil, yet both are guilty within the " Statute, and are but Two Witches trying to perſe- " cute one another.

" *Olaus Magnus*, and the Jeſuit *Delrio* and *Sheſ-*
" *ferius*, and others that are deep in the Belief of
" theſe dark Notions, give us Relations of eminent
" Magicians, that had great Conteſts with one ano-
" ther; and uſed Charm againſt Charm, and Spirit
" againſt Spirit, till the leſs potent Conjurer was
" ſubdued or killed by the moſt powerful. And
" therefore, if we believe Sorcery in this Caſe before
" us, we have but Witch againſt Witch, both em-
" ploying Spirits, and therefore both to be puniſh-
" ed; for the Law is not partial, but puniſhes all
" equal Facts wherever it finds them. Our Statute
" forbids all manner of Uſe and Exerciſe of any
" Sorcery or Charm for employing Spirits, and pu-
" niſhes the guilty Perſon with Death, if they do
" harm to Man or Beaſt, and with Impriſonment
" and Pillory, though their Charms have no Effect.
" And therefore, upon this firſt Suppoſition, they
" both ſtand guilty, they are both in Danger, ac-
" cording as they ſhall meet with Judges and Juries
" that will be Partial or Impartial in the Execution
" of that Statute.

Here we ſee the Doctor is very ſevere in executing Laws againſt this *Durent*; nay, both; but her eſpecially. He tells you the Heinouſneſs of the Crime, the Guilt of the Perſons, and the Severity of the Law; and I am glad he is of my Opinion, or I of his, he being the greater Man, as it happens; let it be as he will, as to that Point; yet, as the Doctor is Counſel for *Callender*, and I for *Durent*, upon the laſt Clauſe of this Declaration, I muſt offer ſomething in favour of *Durent*, as well as the Judges and Juries. And firſt, in reſpect of *Durent*, though they both ſtand guilty upon the firſt Suppoſition, as the Doctor ſays, yet they ought not to be both equally in danger; for what *Callender* did, was a long continued Practice, excited by the Malice of the Devil;

but what *Durent* did, was but an Experiment, or ſingle Action, with no ill Deſign, nor with a Deſign to continue in it, and to be a Profeſſor of that ill Practice. Beſides, the Miſchief of the Priſoners Actions fell upon innocent Perſons, but the latter upon an old Sinner that deſerved Puniſhment. And as to the Partiality or Impartiality of Judges and Juries, though the Letter of the Statute might require ſtrict Execution of Juſtice, yet Circumſtances alter the Caſe, and intercede for Mercy in *Durent*'s Caſe, for the Reaſons above-mentioned.

But *Page* 143, the Doctor ſays; "her being afflicted by this Witneſs's Sorcery, was no proof of "her Guilt, even though the Fact was true; for we "have a Thouſand Stories which teach us, that innocent Perſons may be afflicted, even ſucking Children in their Mothers Arms." Here the Doctor owns what we contend for in our Hiſtory of *Witchcraft*, and what he hath been contending againſt throughout his Eſſay; he hitherto deny'd Poſſeſſions, and the Effects of *Witchcraft*; but now owns, that Thouſands have been afflicted, nay Children in their Mothers Arms. And as for the Sorcery being no Proof of her Guilt, this he contradicts himſelf, *Page* 141, and 142. "After ſhe found a Toad in the "Child's Blanket, which could not get into it in "the Chimney, but by the ſame Power (the Devil's "Help,) as Witches uſe to roaſt the Repreſentation "of the Party to be afflicted, ſo ſhe roaſted the "Toad." Thus we ſee the Doctor contradicts himſelf backwards and forwards, as he thinks it will ſerve his Purpoſe. To excuſe Witches all along, he hath deny'd Poſſeſſions, and the Power of *Witchcraft*; but he hath ſo much Averſion to Accuſers of them, that to bring in *Durent* Guilty, he charges her with the Fact, and produces the Statute. And further, to take off her Evidence, and prove her Guilty, he owns what he ſaid would not prove *Gal-*

lender Guilty; he ſays, " But how, and by whom, " and by what did ſhe try to make the Diſcovery? " She tried to diſcover by a Charm and Sorcery; for " the Blanket in the Chimney was not a common " Act, but deſign'd for a Spell or Call to a Spirit. " And therefore ſhe try'd to diſcover the Witch, by " employing the Devil to afflict another, and by that " to let her know, whether that other was a Witch. " And is not this a hopeful Evidence, and fit to be " laid before a Chriſtian Court of Juſtice? Where he allows Spells and Charms, and uncommon Acts, yet in the foregoing Part of his Diſcourſe, he would not allow any Thing like Poſſeſſions, but would have all the Accidents of Poſſeſſions to proceed from Vapours, or other natural Cauſes; nay, even in this Chapter. But this Evidence is not fit to appear before a Chriſtian Court of Juſtice. I wonder where theſe Chriſtian Courts of Juſtice are to be found; for the Doctor hitherto talks of nothing but partial Judges and Juries, and would have all ſuch Caſes referr'd to the Righteous Judge, being not willing any of theſe innocent Creatures ſhould come before the Judges upon Earth.

From *Page* 144, he hath ſpent about Six Pages in trifling and ridiculous Banter, that would be tedious to the Reader to hear repeated, and full of ſuch mean Reflections, and ſuch weak Offers of defeating and baffling Evidence, that it would both waſte Time and Paper to no Purpoſe, to uſe Words about them. I ſhall only take Notice further, of what is ſaid *Page* the 151ſt, which is ſufficient to anſwer all the omitted Pages contain, without any further Enquiry.

Page 151, the Doctor, to ſatisfy the World that he can confute himſelf when he pleaſes, and ſave any body elſe the labour, ſays, " Sir *Thomas Brown* of " *Norwich*, the Famous Phyſician of his Time, was " in Court, and was deſired by my Lord Chief-

" Baron

" Baron to give his Judgment in the Caſe; and he " declared, that he was clearly of Opinion, that " the Fits were natural, but heightened by the De- " vil, co-operating with the Malice of the Witches, " at whoſe Inſtance he did the Villanies; and he ad- " ded, that in *Denmark* there had been lately a " great Diſcovery of Witches, who uſed the very " ſame way of afflicting People, by conveying " Pins into them.

In anſwer to this, the Doctor flies to his uſual way of Evaſion; and a Bundle of inſignificant Expreſſions. Says the Doctor, " This Declaration of Sir " *Thomas Brown*'s could not but much influence the " Jury; and I count it turned back the Scale, that " was otherwiſe inclining to the favour of the accu- " ſed Perſons." I would aſk the Doctor, why the Opinion of ſo learned a Man, who could well diſtinguiſh betwixt the Symptoms of a natural Diſtemper, and the Effects of ſupernatural Cauſes, ſhould influence a Jury; he could have no Deſign againſt theſe poor People; nor would any Man, without proſpect of conſiderable Gain or Advantage, give his Opinion contrary to his Judgment. The Doctor goes on:

" And in Submiſſion, I think it ſhould not have " been ſaid. For this was a Caſe of Blood, and " ſurely the King's Subjects ought not to loſe their " Lives upon the Credit of Books from *Denmark*." The Doctor puts the Compliment of Submiſſion, yet contradicts Dr. *Brown*'s Declaration, telling him it ſhould not have been ſaid; a good Token of Submiſſion! by a new Method, when I ſubmit, I muſt contradict; but this was a Caſe of Blood, and the King's Subjects ought not to loſe their Lives upon the Credit of Books from *Denmark*; but juſt now it was the Doctor's Declaration turned the Scale. But ſince the Doctor is ſo tender of ſuch wicked Sub-

ſects, as only belong to the Kingdom of Darkneſs; I muſt needs ſay, the Earthly King's Subjects ought not to be tormented and deprived of their Eaſe and Happineſs, if not their Lives, by ſuch miſerable Offenders, who, moved by Malice and Revenge, forſake their God to ſerve the Devil; they ought to depart from the Society of Men, and converſe only with thoſe Infernal Shades which they take moſt delight in.

But this he ſays was a very particular Caſe, and a very hard Queſtion, "Whether ever any one ſingle Perſon was guilty of it, as it ſtood there charged? There were as many probable Signs of it in this Caſe, as had ever been in any, the Witneſſes, the afflicted Perſons, the ſuppoſed Witches, and very much of the Fact, were all before them." Therefore there is the greater Probability that Judgment took Place according to Merit; for they muſt have the Opportunity of a full Information of Matters of Fact on every Side, and both Judge and Juries muſt be well informed of the nature of the Caſe. And after ſo many Advantages, and before ſo many Spectators, and ſo great and good a Judge, Judgment could not well be perverted. After a great deal of ſuch like Stuff as the Doctor hath offered, in Relation to this Caſe, the Doctor, *Page* 152, ſays, "it ſeems to have been a very raſh Proſecution, and an injudicious Sentence." It is very ſtrange that a Proſecution ſhould be raſh, when there were ſo many Advantages at the Tryal, that all Perſons who could be concerned in Evidence, or otherwiſe, were preſent; it rather looks as if they had full Time to provide themſelves for their Defence. But it is much ſtranger the Doctor ſhould be ſo raſh in his Expreſſions, as to call my Lord Chief-Baron's Sentence injudicious; a Perſon for whom he expreſſed, in the beginning of this Chapter, ſo much Honour and Reſpect, both as a great and good Man.

"But,

" But, says he, what did my Lord Chief-Baron " add, besides his Desire to Sir *Thomas Brown* to " give his Judgment? And how came he to be sa- " tisfy'd so far as to condemn them? There was " the Spectre Evidence, Pins and Nails; and, if " the Witness spoke Truth, there was a Diabolical " Interposition in some of the Facts.——This made " that great and good Man doubtful, that he was in " such Fears, and proceeded with such Caution, " that he would not so much as sum up the Evi- " dence, but left it to the Jury, with Prayers, *That* " *the Great God of Heaven would direct their* " *Hearts in that weighty Matter.*——And in Half " an Hour, they brought them in Guilty of all the " Thirteen Indictments.

" After this, my Lord Chief-Baron gave the " Law its Place, and they were condemned, and " died.

Now it is so plain and clearly manifest, both from the Circumstances of the Tryal, the Strength and Validity of the Evidence, and the great Caution my Lord used in his Proceedings, that these Persons must be guilty of the Fact, and were fairly convicted; that I cannot but wonder and admire, with what Grounds, and for what Reasons, the Doctor can suspect the Justice these Persons were treated withal; or how he can charge my Lord with an injudicious Sentence! The Jury, upon downright Testimony, and moral Demonstration of the Merit of their Case, brought them in guilty of Thirteen Indictments; and it must be very strange, if they could be mistaken in all: But when their Wickedness appeared so conspicuously on every side, Truth could never be in the dark: They must be true in some at least; and since one was enough to justify their Condemnation, so many meritorious Acts must needs require the fatal Sentence that impartial Justice called for.

But notwithstanding all this Proof and evident Demonstration, the Doctor will not admit of any Guilt on their side, tho' they were deemed guilty by the Law. The Doctor will not insist upon the Statute, as he did against *Durent*. He hath a great mind to save their Lives after their Death, and if he could raise them up again, as our Saviour did the Body of *Lazarus*, it would mightily redound to the Greatness of his Character. But tho' such Things are *impossible with Men*, yet he will not be put out of his Opinion of their Innocency: Judges, Juries, and all are in the wrong; only Serjeant *Keeling* he hath a great Respect for, because he was of the Opinion the Doctor is now; for which Reason the Doctor canonizes his Name thus, with the Alteration of a Word or two, (as he says) to his Advantage no doubt, as much as possible.

Said he, "Admitting that the Children were really bewitch'd, yet it could never be apply'd to "the Prisoners, upon the Imagination only of the "Parties afflicted; for if that might be allow'd, no "Person whatsoever could be in Safety: For perhaps they might fancy another Person, who might "be altogether innocent in such Matters." If this was all the Counsellor could say, he needed not to fear himself in Danger; for I believe, no body would take him for a Conjurer. But there is no such Thing as Fancy or Imagination of the Parties, since it is done by the Interposition of an evil Spirit: The Witnesses proved a Diabolical Interposition; and therefore the Opinion of this Serjeant will do little Service, in clearing the Guilt of the Persons; for if it were of any Force, it would have taken place in Court; but the Evidence was too strong, and the Circumstances too clear, or a Jury would not have brought them in Guilty. The Caution of my Lord Chief-Baron was sufficient to make them cautious.

But

But the Doctor is yet diſſatisfied in his Mind about his pretty Notion of the Times, and queſtions the Integrity and Honeſty of Judges and Juries. He ſays; "Immediately after the accuſed Perſons "were found guilty, the Three Children of "Mr. *Pacy* were perfectly well of their Fits, and "were reſtored to their Speech: And *Dorothy Durent*, who had gone Three Years upon Crutches, "was reſtored to the Uſe of her Limbs, laid her "Crutches aſide, and went home without them. "And as at that Time this ſatisfied many that "both the Proceedings and Verdict had been juſt; "why may we not now make the ſame Concluſion?

"But, ſays the Doctor, if it be really true, that "the Judgment of Law and Authority hath this "ſupernatural Effect in this Caſe above all others; "what was the Reaſon why the Effect was partial, "and only cured ſome of the afflicted, and not "others? Why did *Suſan Chandler* ſtill look very "pale and wan, and felt a Pricking like Pins in her "Stomach?

The Doctor depending upon the Difficulty of this laſt Queſtion, hath ſpent Two or Three Pages in Triumph, upon new-raiſed Notions; and thinks he hath gained a mighty Conqueſt: But I would not have him place too much Security upon this Foundation; for the Queſtion is not ſo difficult, but that it may eaſily be anſwer'd. For the famous Sir *Thomas Brown* of *Norwich*, told my Lord Chief-Baron, (*Page* 151.) "That he was clearly of Opi-"nion, that the Fits were natural, but heightened "by the Devil, co-operating with the Malice of the "Witches, at whoſe Inſtance he did the Villanies." Now tho' natural Fits might go off ſooner, if not enforced by a Diabolick Power; and conſequently when that Diabolick Power ceaſes, they may diſappear;

pear ; the natural Cauſe that concurred being di-
miniſhed, and not ſufficient to continue theſe Fits
without the adjoined Force of Dæmoniack Aſſi-
ſtance : Yet in ſome Bodies, the Proportion of th
natural Cauſe may be greater, and tho' the Diabo-
lick Force is taken away, it may be ſufficient t
continue natural ill Effects : And tho' it was no
ſufficient at the firſt without that concurring Diabo-
lick Force, yet the Body being by long Continuanc
weaken'd, depraved Humours may grow more abun-
dant in Quantity, and continue thoſe ill Symptom
when the Devil hath loſt his Power ; ſo that thi
Difference depends on the Difference of Conſtituti-
ons, and Degrees of Weakneſs, as well as depraved
Qualities of Humours.

And now I hope I have ſatisfied all thoſe Scru-
ples which lay upon the Doctor's Mind, and think
it appears plainly, that the Perſons accuſed were
not wrongfully accuſed, convicted, nor condemned;
and conſequently, that all the Pains and Trouble he
hath taken to miſrepreſent the Caſe under Conſide-
ration, was only unneceſſary Toil to him, and might
as well have been ſpared.

Of the Surrey Dæmoniack.

From what we have obſerv'd in the late Tryal
it appears, that the Doctor hath ſaid nothing to
the Purpoſe, to leſſen the Credit which ought to be
given to a Caſe ſo plain and evident : Let us now
ſee what he hath to ſay to the *Surrey Dæmoniack*,
which is proved by Seventy Depoſitions of Perſons,
that were Eye and Ear-witneſſes of the Poſſeſſion
of that Creature ; the Depoſitions proving that his
Afflictions could not be occaſion'd without a ſuperna-
tural Power.

To

To diſprove this Fact, the Doctor ſays ; " Take " this Caſe as the ſcandalous Author leaves it, with " telling only one Side." What the Doctor means by telling only one Side, I do not know ; except it be that I only tell the Truth, atteſted by Seventy Witneſſes upon Oath ; *viz.* That the Perſon was poſſeſſed, committing Actions above the Power of natural Cauſes in human Bodies, unaſſiſted by evil Spirits ; and that he was relieved by the effectual Prayers of pious good Men. As for ſcandalous Language, I cannot tell how to anſwer it ; being always deſirous to ſhew what Reſpect I poſſibly can to the Gown, let him be what he thinks fit. But if he takes the Subject as I leave it, he will find it proved by ſuch undeniable Teſtimony, that no body can diſpute the Truth, but thoſe that will be Infidels, and convinc'd of nothing that is contrary to their Inclinations.

If the Doctor hath any Thing to ſay againſt the Depoſitions laid down in our *Compleat Hiſtory*, &c. let him produce as many Teſtimonies to the contrary, and prove what he ſays either by Arguments or Witneſſes. But inſtead of that, the Doctor juſt ſays what he thinks fit, without offering any Thing to confirm us in a Belief of any ſuch trifling Aſſertions : But all the Oppoſition I find the Doctor makes, is, That *Dugdale* (upon Examination) declared, that he believed he never had any evil Spirit in him. But this we muſt take the Doctor's Word for ; his Affirmation being ſuperior to Twenty evident Proofs to the contrary. He is of a happy Genius, to be always in the Right when he pleaſes ; both when he aſſerts one Thing, and when he contradicts himſelf, and affirms another. That we may make a better Judgment of his Work, we ſhall ſum up the Number of Contradictions, Inſinuations, Evaſions, and ſtrong Arguments contained in his *Eſſay*

either

either in Defence of his own Opinion, or againſt ours :

Contradictions, —— —— —— about	100.
Inſinuations, —— —— —— about	1000.
Evaſions, —— —— about	900.
Strong Arguments for his Opinion, ——	00c.
Againſt ours, —— —— —— —— ——	0000.
Ipſe dixit's, —— —— —— —— ——	10000.

Whoever takes a View of what we have ſaid ſtrictly, will find this Account not much miſtaken. But as to the preſent Caſe in Hand, having anſwered all the Doctor offers except Raillery, to ſhew how well this *Narrative* is atteſted, we ſhall here mention Two or Three Depoſitions, to prove the Truth of the *Surrey Dæmoniack*, and refer the Reader to that *Hiſtory* for a full Account and Proof.

Thomas Dugdale, Father of the ſaid *Richard Dugdale*, maketh Oath, That he conſulted with *Crabtree* in Behalf of his ſaid Son, then under a ſtrange Diſtemper ; and had his Anſwer, That if there was Money enough, he could effect the Cure. Whereupon this Deponent ſeeing his Son's Body much weaken'd with the ſaid *Crabtree*'s Phyſick, and his Fits more violent, applied himſelf to Mr. *Jolly*, a Neighbouring Miniſter, and others of his Brethren in the Miniſtry : And this Deponent ſaith, He hath ſeen his Son vomit up Stones, ſeveral Times, and other Things. Once he declar'd, He muſt either vomit up Gold, Silver, or Braſs Rings, and Hair Buttons ; and accordingly he did ſo. At other Times, he vomited great Stones, alſo blue Stones like Flints.

One Time he vomited a Stone an Inch and a half long, and an Inch and a half broad, having Blood upon the Edges ; which this Deponent, and others ſtand-

ſtanding by him, apprehended to be painful to him.

And further this Deponent maketh Oath, That one Day, a little before Night, walking by his ſaid Son then in a Fit, it growing dark, a Candle was brought in; this Deponent looking upon him, there was a great Stone laid upon his Belly, weighing about Twelve or Thirteen Pounds: This Deponent not knowing how it came there, nor were there any ſuch like Stones about the Houſe. Beſides, Stones have been thrown at the Barn-ſide, falling very thick upon the Door; yet this Deponent could never diſcover the Hand that threw them, nor any Perſon employ'd therein, altho' this Deponent's Wife was hit with one of them, but without any Hurt. At other Times, the ſaid *Richard Dugdale* would caſt Gooſe-Dung at this Deponent, and others ſtanding by, which he ſeemed to fetch out of the Barn-ſide; altho' neither this Deponent, nor thoſe that were with him could find any there, nor diſcover any one that brought it; nor were there any Geeſe kept at the Houſe, nor other Geeſe that came near it. And laſtly, this Deponent ſaith, That his ſaid Son would run upon his Hands and Feet together, as faſt as moſt Men could run upon their Feet alone: And his Body would ſometimes be ſo heavy, that Two or Three ſtrong Men could hardly lift him up, and at other Times as light as a Bag of Feathers.

John Walmſly, of *Harwood* in the ſaid County of *Lancaſter*, Sadler, depoſeth, That he hath ſeen the ſaid *Richard Dugdale* in a Fit, and held in a Chair by Six Men: And whilſt his Feet were off the Ground, he hath leaped up in the Chair for Two or Three Hours together, as faſt as a Man can ordinarily count any Thing, and hath ſo ſweated thro' his Cloaths, that it hath ſtood like a Dew upon them.

More-

Moreover, this Deponent hath taken the ſaid *Richard Dugdale* by the Shoe, betwixt this Deponent's foremoſt Finger and his Thumb, another taking him at his Head, and ſo lifting him up: This Deponent thinks he could not weigh Six Pounds.

And further this Deponent ſaith, Mr. *Jolly* the Miniſter ſending Word by him to the ſaid *Richard*'s Father, that the Miniſters would be at his Houſe called *Surrey* on ſuch a Day; this Deponent going the ſame Day he was ſpoken to with his Errand, the ſaid *Richard* declared it before this Deponent mention'd it, as likewiſe what Miniſters would be there.

And further this Deponent upon his Oath ſaith, That the ſaid *Richard Dugdale*, in ſome of his Fits opening his Hand, hath received written Papers into it, none of the By-ſtanders knowing how they came thither; which the ſaid *Richard Dugdale* hath given People that were about him. Alſo the ſaid Deponent hath ſeen him ſhuffle Ruſhes like Cards, and play Games on them, as tho' he had been playing with ſome other Perſon; whom he had chid about the Caſts, curſing and ſwearing about his Play, and then ſaid, *Do not Gameſters thus?* He likewiſe play'd with Ruſhes as if they had been Dice, uſing exactly ſeveral Expreſſions belonging to that Play; ſaying, *People think this is laid upon me for my Sins, but I never was a Gameſter in my Life; neither know I how to play at ſuch Games, when out of my Fits.* And the ſaid *Richard Dugdale* did likewiſe play at Bowls, making Bowls of Ruſhes: and when he had thrown the Jack, he ſaid, *I muſt now throw my Gill:* Then running a good way, as if he had been running after a Bowl, ſwearing, *Run, run; flee, flee; Hold a Biaſs.* And ſometimes he catch'd up Ruſhes, as if they had been Bowls, ſwearing, *Sirrah, ſtand out of the way, or I'll knock out your*

your Brains : Adding, *I never was a Bowler ; but don't Gentlemen do thus ?*

And this Deponent ſaith, That the ſaid *Richard Dugdale* had ſeveral Fits, after his being threatned with his being brought before a Juſtice of Peace : And once being in his laſt Fit, when this Deponent was preſent, he declared his Fit was thro' Obſeſſion, and in a Combination, which ſhould never be diſcover'd whilſt the World endured. And this Deponent hath ſeen him in a great Fit, as in a great Agony, with ſomething he could not ſee ; and then hath been taken up, and been thrown backwards ; after that ſet upon his Head, and ſo ſtood till he was pulled down by one *John Fletcher*. As alſo this Deponent hath heard himſelf curſed and ſweared at by *Richard Dugdale* ; and his Geſture was ſo terrible, it would have frighted a Man to come near him ; and yet in a Moment's Time after, he was in ſuch a Fear, that he ſought to creep into any Hole, or behind any body, to have hid himſelf, as moved the Standers-by with much Compaſſion. He would at one Time have told when his Fits would begin, when he had Two or Three in one Day, or Three or Four Days aſunder ; wherein he was never diſproved that he knew of : Which Fits commonly began in the Calf of his Leg, and wrought upwards unto the Cheſt of his Body : And then he was thrown down, where he would lye for a good while as dead, or breathleſs, and then would have a ſtrange Noiſe in his Mouth and Noſe ; and there would, to his Apprehenſion, be ſomething like Whelps in his Boſom before he roſe, after which ſometimes he would be very furious, and ſometimes more quiet.

William Lound, of *Harwood* in the County of *Lancaſter*, Carrier, maketh Oath, That he hath heard the ſaid *Richard Dugdale* curſe and ſwear ; his Geſture

Geſture being ſo terrible, it would have frighted a Man to come near him; and yet in a Moment of Time after, in ſuch a Fear, that he hath ſought to creep into any Hole, or behind any body, to have hid himſelf, and ſo lamented himſelf, as moved the Standers by with great Compaſſion. He would, at other Times, have told when his Fits would begin, when there were Two or Three in one Day, or Three or Four Days aſunder; wherein he was never diſappointed that he knew of: Which Fits commonly began in the Calf of his Leg, and wrought upwards into the Cheſt of his Body; and then he was thrown down, where he would lye for a good while as dead, or bewitch'd, and then would have a ſtrange Noiſe in his Mouth or Noſe; and there would be in his Breaſt ſomewhat like Whelps before he roſe, after which ſometimes he would be very furious, ſometimes more quiet.

Willoughby.
Ralph Egerton.

We whoſe Names are ſubſcribed, being Miniſters of the Goſpel, having read or heard the Affidavits and Depoſitions, taken before the Right Honourable *Hugh* Lord *Willoughby* and *Ralph Egerton*, Eſq; Two of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for the County *Palatine* of *Lancaſter*, concerning one *Richard Dugdale* of *Surrey* in the Pariſh of *Whalley*; do verily believe the Truth of the ſame, and that the ſtrange Fits of the ſaid *Dugdale* were by a Diabolical Power.

Given when we were at *Blackburn* in *Lancaſhire*, on *Auguſt the* 6th, 1695.

Thomas Crompton.
Peter Aſpinwall.
John Crompton.
John Parr.
Samuel Angier.
Nathaniel Heywood.
Samuel Eaton.
Nathaniel Scholes.

I do

I do hereby teſtify, (as many more will, if there be Occaſion) from my own Obſervation, as an Eye and Ear Witneſs, at the meeting concerning *Richard Dugdale*, that I verily believe he was then under a Diabolical Poſſeſſion, or Obſeſſion. I do alſo teſtify, that he is now delivered from that ſupernatural Malady; and that no other probable Means of his Delivery may be aſſigned, but the Word of God and Prayer, with Faſting; which Spiritual Means was made uſe of by ſeveral Miniſters of great Faithfulneſs and Diligence, for a conſiderable Time together.

Witneſs my Hand, the 10th Day of *June*, 1695.

Robert Whiteaker, Phyſician.

Theſe Teſtimonies and Depoſitions are ſufficient to prove the Truth of the *Surrey* Demoniack; but if any body hath a mind to be further ſatisfied, they may find both a fuller Account, as well as a great Number of Teſtimonies for the Confirmation of it, in my *Compleat Hiſtory of Witchcraft*, &c.

But the Doctor is uneaſy becauſe the Diſſenters had the Honour to caſt out this Devil, and diſpoſſeſs the poor Creature; would not the Doctor have done the Chriſtian Part of aſſiſting, if his Help had been required? Our Saviour, as I have in the beginning of this Vindication ſhewn, when his Diſciples came and told him, *that others caſt out Devils in his Name*, charged them not to forbid them, ſaying, *They that are not againſt us, are on our Part*. And if what our Saviour allowed be no Crime, what matters it, whether a Diſſenter, or a Churchman, diſpoſſeſſed a tormented Creature, if it can be done by either? But the Doctor, throughout his Eſſay, is rather for encouraging Sin and Wickedneſs of the higheſt Nature, and would have the Devil to work his

his Will, excuſing Witches, and diſcouraging their Accuſers.

But the Doctor finds fault with the Author of the *Compleat Hiſtory*, for paſſing by theſe Things, though they lay plain before him. And I have paſſed by ſome Things in this Eſſay, for the ſame Reaſons; *viz.* becauſe they were not worth taking Notice of. In that Hiſtory I have taken Notice of nothing but what is authentick, and founded upon moral Proof, or Probability at leaſt; endeavouring to ſeparate the Dirt, which was fit for nothing, but to be trod under the Foot, from thoſe more valuable Jewels of Uſe and Worth. But ſince the Doctor finds fault with me, why did he not read over that *Compleat Hiſtory*, and ſhew the Faults of the moſt material Parts, which ſhew the Reaſonableneſs and Uſefulneſs of that Hiſtory? Why did he not anſwer the Preface and Introduction, as I have his Dedication, himſelf, and his Two Companions, the Advocate, and the poor ſilly Juryman. I have offered nothing but what is grounded upon, and proved by Scripture, againſt the material Part of his Eſſay, and have given Reaſons for what I ſay; but the Doctor calls me ill and ſcandalous Author, without ſhewing any Reaſons for it; and though he ſays my Hiſtory may do Miſchief, the Reaſons I have offered againſt him, prove that his Eſſay is likely to do a great deal more, deſtroying and diſcouraging thoſe Hiſtorical Truths, which are of the ſame Nature with thoſe in Scripture, as to Poſſeſſions and *Witchcraft*; and though not atteſted by Divine Authority, yet they have equally moral Proof, and might be atteſted by the ſame Witneſſes, had they happened at the ſame Time. Now if what I have offered is according to Scripture, as it appears, and his Notions are not, as I have proved: It will not be amiſs, if I end this Diſcourſe concerning *Dugdale* with the Doctor's own Words, " What he deſerves

" for

for poiſoning the Minds of Men with falſe—— (Notions) in ſuch a high and tender Point, I leave the Reader to make Judgment.

As for the Caſe of *Jane Wenham*, if ſhe was ſo innocent, that nothing could be proved againſt her, it muſt be barbarous Cruelty, either to torture her undeſervedly, or to ſpill innocent Blood; but this Miſtake does not make the guilty innocent; and as I ſaid before, in the beginning of this Tract, becauſe ſometimes Miſtakes may be made, this is no Rule that the Wicked ſhould go unpuniſhed; and as Judges and Juries ought to be cautious how they puniſh the innocent, ſo they ought to be as ſevere in diſcouraging Wickedneſs and Vice, of ſo heinous a Nature.

CHAP. VI.

Containing ſome Remarks on what the Doctor hath ſaid of Tears, Marks, Charms, want of Tears, and ſwimming Witches.

THE Doctor, in the beginning of his Eleventh Chapter, after a ſhort Harangue with a ſilly Juryman, takes Notice of King *James*'s Reaſon why Witches Swim, and modeſtly excuſing the Deficiency of that Reaſon, *Page* 172, tells us of the *Thibii* in *Pliny*, who ſays, *non poſſe mergi*, that they cannot be drowned; which if applicable to our Witches, is againſt him, who would not allow the Validity of the Experiment.

But

But ſpeaking of our Nation, ſays the Doctor, " we find in our Nation, ſo late as the *Norman* " Conqueſt, that they tried their Robberies, Mur- " ders, Adulteries, and often their Claims to Land, " by Combat, (and ſo Highwaymen do now to Mo- " ney and Goods,) or the Decretory Morſel, or by " carrying hot Iron, or paſſing through hot Plow- " ſhares, or putting them into hot Water, or ſwim- " ming them in cold. And when a Priſoner in " Court is aſked how he will be tried? I ſuppoſe it is " a Continuance of the Queſtion put to them in " thoſe Times, when they had the Choice of be- " ing tried by a Jury, or by one of thoſe Ways." But this not relating to the Subject in Hand, I ſhall not ſpend Time to enquire whether the Doctor's Suppoſition be right or not, yet probably it may.

We ſhall next proceed to conſider, what may relate to the preſent Purpoſe, and the Subjects we go upon. I find that, though the Doctor mentioned Swimming laſt in the Title of his Chapter, yet it is the firſt he begins with; and the Caſe being ſtated betwixt a Jury-man and him, it puts me to the Stand who I have to deal with; that is, Whether the Jury-man is transformed into the Doctor's Shape, or not? For the Juryman talks more like a Doctor than the Clergyman; but as I ſuppoſe they are both one, and alter their Shapes as they think fit, I ſhall take the whole as it is betwixt them both. Which is thus: " When our Country People do try old Wo- " men this way, and they Swim, doth it not ſhew a " ſupernatural Power, either of God or the Devil? " If it be allowed in ſome Caſes to be ſo, as there " are ſtrange Stories told, it would not follow that " we might therefore uſe it; for we may not tempt " God, and we may not truſt the Devil.

From what we obſerve, it is plain and manifeſt, that the Doctor owns it to be a ſupernatural Power, either of God or the Devil, allowing that it may be

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ſo in ſome Caſes; but he only inſiſts, that it would not follow, that we might therefore uſe it; and all the Reaſon he offers for that is, we may not tempt God, and we muſt not truſt the Devil. Now in doing of this, the Queſtion is, Whether we tempt God, or whether we truſt the Devil?

As to the firſt, I believe, that in doing ſo, we tempt not God; for theſe Creatures having forſaken God, he not being in all their Ways, he hath caſt them out of his Vineyard, and hath nothing to do with them; and therefore, as they cannot depend upon his Aſſiſtance, who never aſk it, they ſeem to be wholly in the Devil's Hands, whom they Worſhip, and it is in him they put their Truſt; and if any Thing ſaves them from the Common Laws of Nature, it muſt be thought his ſupernatural Power; and therefore if Witches Swim, it muſt be the Devil's Power that keeps them from ſinking: And if ſo, the Experiment muſt be reaſonable, and juſtifiable, and true.

But the Doctor ſays; "I take it to be uſually owing to the manner of the Tryal; in which a Rope "being tied about the ſuppoſed Witch, one End is "held by ſome Man on one Side the River, and the "other by others on the other, whereby a little pul-"ling may keep her above Water." To which I anſwer, that a little pulling will not make a reverberatory Force, ſufficient to make a body Swim: This hath been tried by People ſwimming after a Boat with a Tow, when they were timerous, or ſuſpected their Art of Swimming; and it hath happened, that notwithſtanding that Caution, the Perſon who thus relied upon his Safety, hath been drowned: For the People thinking the Man ſafe, becauſe in Towe, neglected looking behind them; whilſt the Perſon, who thought himſelf ſecure, ſuddenly failing of his Art, or Strength, hath towed under Water till drowned, before thoſe in the Boat

looked back to take Care of their Friend: And in other common Experiments we find, that nothing, whose Specifick Gravity disposes it to sink, will swim above Water by being towed, except the Motion be swift and violent.

The Doctor goes on; "and sometimes it may be "owing to the Lightness of their Bodies and "Cloaths, and tying their Thumbs and Toes toge-"ther, and then putting them into the Water, not "with the Feet downwards, but Lengthways, so as "that the Trunk of their Body that is light, may "bear up those Parts that are more Solid. And I "do not know, but that half of the old Women in "the Nation might Swim, if they were tried this "way in Woollen, and sweaty Petticoats." How well the Doctor may know the Art of Swimming, I do not know; but I have always heard, that People in their Cloaths are most unpat to Swim; for those that can Swim the best own, that they cannot Swim so well in their Cloaths, as they can without them; and as for tying their Thumbs and Toes, that cannot alter their Specifick Gravity; for the Body hath the same Specifick Gravity, Quantity for Quantity, whether it be immerged Longitudinally, or Perpendicularly; so that the manner of immerging, or putting them in the Water, can make no Difference, in respect of their swimming or sinking, except it alters the Rules of Staticks, and Hydrostaticks. Indeed, if a Body were to be thrown with Force, or to fall from Distance into the Water, the Resistance must be greater, according to the Quantity of Parts opposing one another; and consequently the Longitudinal Posture having greater Resistance than the Perpendicular, according to the breadth of the *Buoyant* Superficies, the Body, upon the first Contact, will be less apt to sink; but when that acquired Force which makes the Resistance is lost, the Specifick Gravity of the Body will accelerate and quicken the Depressure of

of it, or its ſinking, as the *Æquilibrium* of that Body, and an equal Quantity of Water, ſhall vary. So that the more a Body differs from Water, and exceeds it in Specifick Gravity, the apter it is to ſink; but a Body having the ſame Specifick Preponderance, whether the Thumbs are tied or not, it muſt have the ſame Tendency to ſink, and conſequently that cannot make a Body more apt to Swim. And as for Woollen Cloaths, they will not Swim upon Water, except the Air contained in the Pores helps to buoy them up; but as ſoon as the Water gets into thoſe Pores, and preſſes the Air out, they ſink preſently. And if the Pores which might contain Air, are filled with Sweat, they are the leſs apt to Swim, and ſink preſently.

But *Page* 174, he ſays; "It is viſible, that the "Bodies of all Creatures are near to an equal Poiſe "with the Water; their Swimming, while alive, "and their floating after Death, are a conſtant De"monſtration, that they are always near to an "*Æquilibrium*." That Bodies are near to an *Æquilibrium* with Water, no body denies, but the drowning of ſo many is Demonſtration that they are too heavy to Swim, without the Aſſiſtance of Art, or ſome ſupernatural Power; and whether that is likely to be good or bad, when ill Perſons are ſupported, appears from what we ſaid before; ſo that if Witches Swim, it muſt be by the Aſſiſtance of an evil Spirit. And when Bodies Swim after Death, that depends upon the Expanſion of windy Vapours in the Stomach, Inteſtines and Lungs, which extending the Body, alter the Specifick Gravity of the whole. This acquired Expanſion making the Quantity of Body equal, or to exceed the Levity of a proportionable extended Quantity of Water; which makes Bodies Swim, when the Thorax is extended with Air retained upon Inſpiration, but that Body will Swim no longer than that Air is ſo re-

tained; for upon Expiration the Body ſinks, except the Motion of the Parts makes a greater than natural Reſiſtance of Water to ſupport the Body; but when the Thumbs and Toes are tied, that Motion is diſappointed, and conſequently the Body muſt ſink, except prevented by ſupernatural Aſſiſtance; which demonſtrates that an evil Perſon muſt be ſupported by an evil Power; and conſequently this Method of Tryal may be reaſonable and juſtifiable; and though ſome good People may Swim a while, it muſt be becauſe they hold their Breath, or have ſome Motion which aſſiſts them: So that we conclude, that Witches, who have not the Liberty of making ſuch Motions, muſt ſink, if not kept up by the Devil, or his Agents.

But the Doctor ſays; "That of all Things, this "Tryal of Swimming is unfit for an Appeal to Pro-"videnee." To which I anſwer, that Providence hath nothing to do with ſuch Creatures, who have refuſed to ſubmit to Providence, but fly to the Devil for Protection; but if Providence would overrule in ſuch Caſes, it would be to bring them to Juſtice; and for that Conſideration, a good Angel may aſſiſt them, that they may not lye undiſcovered.

Page the 175th, he ſays; "There is another vul-"gar Mark of *Witchcraft*, which helps to explain "the Fallacy of this, and that is want of Tears. "It is manifeſt by that, that the poor old Creatures "have little Moiſture in their Bodies. Old Age, "Sorrow, and want of Sleep, under ſuch Afflictions, "dry it up, and fill them with Wind and Vapours, "that both hinders them from ſhedding Tears, and "makes them lye light upon the Water." But to this I anſwer, that they were not all old People that were accuſed for *Witchcraft*, therefore the Doctor's Objection is but particular; and though old People are not ſo full of Moiſture as young ones, yet there

are none ſo dry, but that they have Moiſture enough to ſupply the Lacrimal Glands with a few Drops of ſuperfluous Moiſture, which may be preſſed out, when the Parts are conſtringed; but their want of Tears is rather to be attributed to their ſturdy obſtinate Temper, hardened in Wickedneſs, and guarded from Timerouſneſs, by their ſuppoſed Safety, and the Confidence they place upon their Lord and Maſter the Devil; and though they may be troubled with Wind and Vapours, the Quantity of Wind is ſo ſmall, that it is not ſufficient to extend their Abdomen ſo much, as to bring the Body to an *Æquilibrium* with Water; beſides, their Bodies are ſo much ſhriveled and ſhrunk up with a loſs of Fat, which was the lighteſt Subſtance of their Bodies, that the Bones retaining the ſame Proportion, add to the Gravity of their Bodies in Proportion; and make the Difference much greater from an *Æquilibrium*, and conſequently more apt to ſink; ſo that, though we will not ſay, that want of Tears is a certain Mark, yet what the Doctor offers to the contrary, does not make it leſs a Mark than it was before.

But it is not Swimming, or Tears, that I take to be ſufficient Teſtimonies of *Witchcraft*; it muſt be their Actions, and the Miſchief they do, either legally proved by good Evidence, and the Sufferings of the tormented, or their own Confeſſion, that imply their Guilt.

As for Teats, Magical Signs, and inſenſible Parts, the Doctor ſays; "No doubt but ſome of them are "Scurvy Spots, or Mortified, or withered Parts, or "hollowed Spaces betwixt the Muſcles. Others are "Piles, or *Verrucæ penſiles*, hanging Warts, which "in old Age may grow large and Fiſtulous. Others "may be Moles or Scars, or Marks in the Womb "from the Mothers Imagination, *&c.*

As for Scurvey Spots, thoſe are eaſily diſtinguiſhed from any Thing of a Supernatural Kind, and ſo are withered and hollow Spaces, or the Interſtices of the Muſcles; the Doctor would not make all the World ſo ignorant, but that they can tell when any Perſon hath the Scurvey; or can ſee when Parts are withered; or tell the Interſtices of the Muſcles, when they ſee them; theſe are too natural and obvious to be miſtaken; and ſo are Piles, Warts, Moles and Scars; and as for Mortifications, they ſoon diſcover themſelves, never continuing long without a Cure; or increaſe ſo faſt, as in a little Time to become Mortal; and Marks by Imagination, which are fixed in the Womb, theſe appearing at the Time of Birth, are ſoon diſcovered, and noted amongſt the Goſſips, before the Child can be of Age to be ſuppoſed a Witch, or to be ſuppoſed to commit ſuch Actions, as may bring them under Suſpicion of *Witchcraft*.

But to favour this Notion of his, he quotes *Epiſcopius's Theological Inſtitutions*; who ſays, " It hath " many a Time been found true, that Women, who " by Reaſon of theſe impreſſed Marks, have been " condemned to the Rack, either for fear of, or " Force of Torments, have confeſſed, and been put " to Death.

As for the Torments of the Rack, I think them too barbarous and inhuman to be made uſe of upon any Occaſion, or on Suſpicion only, eſpecially; it being unjuſt to put Perſons that may be innocent, upon ſuch Tryals and Sufferings; but this is a Method that hath been made Uſe of in few Countries, and not without very ſtrong Preſumptions of the Perſons Guilt; but on the contrary we find, that ſeveral have confeſſed the Uſe of Teats and Marks, without being put to Torture, or having their Confeſſions any other way extorted; and it hath been proved upon others by Eye-Witneſſes; and ſuch Marks appear after

after a different Manner, and eaſily diſtinguiſhable from what are Natural.

As for Charms, the Doctor ſays, "It is both a "great Sin, and a great Folly, to uſe them." Yet he endeavours to leſſen the Credit and Belief of ſuch Things, by telling Three or Four ridiculous Tricks of Men that impoſed upon credulous Perſons, with Charms that would make them Proof againſt venomous Creatures, and invulnerable; but the Reality of Charms hath been ſufficiently atteſted, by condemning ſuch Perſons, and puniſhing them with Death; a Puniſhment too ſevere to be inflicted on a Perſon who only banters, and barely impoſes upon Mens Credulity, without doing any Harm or Miſchief by their ſmall Deceits.

The Truth of theſe are not only atteſted by the Aſſertions of Men, and puniſhed by human Laws, but cenſured by the Scripture in Sacred Writings, and threatened by Divine Laws. As *Deuteronomy* xviii. 10. *There ſhall not be found amongſt you any one, that maketh his Son or his Daughter to paſs through the Fire, or that uſeth Divination, or an obſerver of Times, or an Enchanter, or a Witch.* And *Verſe* 11. *Or a Charmer, or a Conſulter with Familiar Spirits, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer*; which are all threaten'd with Deſtruction. And though Divine Providence may interpoſe, and prevent their Effects; as *Jeremiah* viii. 17. Where the Prophet tells the People, in Defiance of their Skill, *Behold, I will ſend Serpents, Cockatrices, amongſt you, which will not be charmed.* Yet this Defiance of their inferior Power, ſhews they had ſuch Power, and practiſed it. And again, *Iſaiah* xix. 3. *The Spirit of Ægypt ſhall fall in the midſt thereof, and I will deſtroy the Counſel thereof, and they ſhall ſeek to the Idols, and to the Charmers, and to them that have familiar Spirits.* And though the Doctor would make the Teſtimony of the Scripture of no Effect, by

relating Two or Three ridiculous Attempts about the Poiſon of Serpents: The Scripture forewarns us of the Inſufficiency of Charms againſt ſuch Poiſons. *Pſalm* lviii. 4, 5. *Their Poiſon is like the Poiſon of a Serpent, they are like the deaf Adder that ſtoppeth her Ear. Which will not hearken to the Voice of Charmers, charming never ſo wiſely.* But though in all Caſes Charms will not take Place, yet if there were not ſuch Things to be done, why would Sacred Writings take Notice of them?

We might add a great deal more upon this Subject; but ſince what we have ſaid may be ſufficient to prove that there are ſuch Things as Charms, we ſhall put a Concluſion to this Diſcourſe, and proceed to conſider of the Contents of his next Chapter.

CHAP. VII.

Containing Remarks on the Doctor's Twelfth Chapter, of what kind of Witchcrafts they are, that are ſpoken of in the Holy Scripture.

THE Doctor begins this Chapter with the Conſideration of Divine Laws, and ſays, " This is a " Point of very great Difficulty amongſt the Cri- " ticks, and I will not pretend to make my ſelf " Umpire; but I will offer ſome few Things, that " I think are manifeſt, and may keep us from preſ- " ſing them too hard againſt our Neighbour's Lives. By the Doctor's Introduction to this Diſcourſe, we may eaſily perceive his main Drift and Intention, and

and that he is for ſoftening and mollifying of thoſe Divine Laws, which were ſeverely urged againſt Evil-doers by the Prophets and Apoſtles. He is of a more Godly and Chriſtian Temper; and therefore thinks fit to explain theſe Laws as much in Favour of his Cauſe as poſſibly he can; nay, rather than fail, he recommends the Non-execution of them.

Page 182, he ſays; "Whatever the Meaning of "theſe Laws were, they are of that Part of the "Law which is uſually called Judicial, and therefore "they are not binding to us, further than we find "them uſeful and agreeable to our Times." I thought that the Uſefulneſs of Laws was to ſuppreſs Vice, and to puniſh Offenders; and that they were proportionably ſevere according to the Heinouſneſs of the Crimes, and conſequently are equally uſeful and agreeable in all Times. And as theſe Judicial Laws were laid down as juſt, according to the Merit of Offenders of that Kind, by God Almighty's Appointment, through the Mouths of his Prophets and Apoſtles, they were deſigned as a Pattern and Preſcription for us to go by, and conſequently muſt be as binding to us as they were to them. For as we ought to do Juſtice and diſcourage Wickedneſs as well as they, and theſe Laws are directed as a Rule of Juſtice for us to go by; ſo if we fulfil the Commands of God by his Prophets, we ought to purſue the Laws he hath ordained, and conſequently they are as binding to us as they were to them; the Sins they puniſh being as heinous as ever, and equally deſerving Death.

But the Doctor, more inclined to Mercy, (believing that *God*, who *ſpake by the Prophets*, would excuſe Offenders of an inſufferable Kind) ſays; "Our Government hath either increaſed, or mo-"derated the Puniſhment of Theft, *Sabbath*-break-"ing, Perjury, and Adultery, as they found need-"ful;

" ful; and they have the ſame Liberty with reſpect " to this of Sorcery, if they ſee good Reaſon." To which I anſwer; That tho' we moderate, or exaſperate the Degrees of Puniſhment of Crimes of a leſs heinous Nature, we have not the ſame Liberty with reſpect to this, where there is the expreſs Command of God that *they ſhall not live*. But if we may indeed do his Will, or let it alone at our own Pleaſure; then we may grant *Indulgences* for the Breach of all his Commandments, and let the World abound in Sin, and flouriſh in Iniquity. But if Men ſhall think fit thus to ſuffer a Breach to be made of God's Laws, it is a Queſtion, how far God Almighty will approve of thoſe that ſuffer his Commands to be broke and trampled upon? Whether we are not Acceſſories, in conſenting to ſuch *Indulgences*? For ſince not to diſcourage, is in Effect to encourage and approve of Wickedneſs; we ſeem, if we ſhould connive at ſuch Offences, to be equally guilty; and as far as thoſe Laws are remitted, to be proportionably guilty of the ſame Facts.

But he goes on: " The Laws of the *Old Teſta-* " *ment*, in this Point, are moſtly grounded upon Names " without Definitions along with them; and there- " fore, tho' they might be ſufficiently known then, " they can hardly be determined now ſo certainly, " as to be made the Rule by which we may take " away our Neighbours Lives. Of all Kinds of " Words, it is hardeſt to tranſlate common Names " of Perſons, becauſe Length of Time fixes perfect- " ly different Characters to the very ſame Words. " You know what a bad Man we mean by a Vil- " lain; and yet anciently the very ſame Word ſig- " nified only a Countryman, that lived in a Vil- " lage, &c.

To which I anſwer; That tho' thoſe Laws were writ in Words, or Names without Definitions, yet the Meaning of thoſe Words was ſufficiently known with-

without Definitions; and the Actions of thoſe Perſons they were deſigned againſt being manifeſt, it was certain ſuch Perſons were meant by ſuch Names as commonly committed ſuch Actions: And ſince from Age to Age, the Meaning of Words and Characters are transferr'd, and carry'd down by Tradition, we may be as certain now of their Meaning as then. And it is plain that we are, by the Doctor's own Words: For if we know that Words are apply'd or made uſe of to ſignify different Things at different Times; our Knowledge of that Change in the Uſe of Words, makes their expreſs Meaning as intelligible at one Time as at another. And we have as true and clear a Knowledge of Perſons and Actions, tho' Names are apply'd to ſignify different Things; for that Alteration of their Meaning being underſtood and known, we have as diſtinct Ideas of thoſe new-meant Things by that Name, as we had of thoſe formerly-meant Things by that ſame Word; knowing that that Word is a Characteriſtick of ſuch Ideas: For as formerly Villain ſignified a Villager, or one that lived in a Village, and now is apply'd to denote a vile and ſcandalous Man, that Word now carries along with it the Character of ſuch a Man, and repreſents that Meaning without confounding or intermixing the Notion of what it formerly repreſented. And as for the Difficulty of tranſlating Words or Names, that is ſo ſmall, that it appears to be none at all in confounding our Knowledge of Things: For if a Creature called a Horſe, hath a *Hebrew* Name to denote ſuch a Creature, and that Creature in Tranſlation into our Language is called a Horſe, the word Horſe being of the ſame Signification with the *Hebrew* word, is as intelligible as it; and both Words with equal Certainty determine their Significations: And ſo the Words in the *Old Teſtament* having their original Meaning transferr'd by Tradition, and Words in

Engliſh

Engliſh having the ſame Signification; the Drift and Deſign of thoſe Laws are as well known now as then; and the Actions of the Perſons thoſe Laws were enacted againſt, which Actions denominate ſuch Perſons they were properly deſigned to expreſs.

The Doctor goes on: "A Magician was one that "was a wiſe Man and a Philoſopher; and you "know how *Daniel* endeavour'd to ſave the Lives "of the Magicians in his Time. And Three Ma-"gicians came out of the *Eaſt*, to worſhip our Sa-"viour." That Magicians were wiſe Men, no body queſtions; but they converted their Wit to an ill Purpoſe: And tho' they gain'd the Admiration of the People by the mighty Acts they did, (in ſome Caſes being ſerviceable to the People) yet in other Caſes, they were as pernicious and vicious, in miſleading the People from the due Regard they ought to have to the Power of God, and his Works. Thus *Pharaoh*'s wiſe Men, *Exod.* 5. 8. imitated a great many of the Miracles wrought by *Moſes*, which harden'd that wicked Tyrant's Heart. And this ſhews, that their Power depended on the Aſſiſtance of a Diabolical Spirit, acting in Defiance of *Moſes*'s Works, which were done by Divine Aſſiſtance. And tho' Three Magicians came out of the *Eaſt* to worſhip our Saviour, this good Intention did not excuſe thoſe former ill Acts which they did by a Diabolical Aſſiſtance. Their Converſion to acknowledge the Divinity of our Saviour, was to his Glory; but juſtified not their wicked Practices, in dealing with familiar Spirits, by whoſe Aſſiſtance only they could play their Pranks.

Page 183, he ſays, "A Conjurer is a very literal "Tranſlation of Exorciſt; and yet Time hath made "one Signification an Officer that is allowed in the "*Roman* Church, and the other an infamous Cri-"minal,

" minal, both in their Church and ours." He goes on: " In the Time of *Tacitus*, and long after, ſuch " ill People were call'd *Mathematici*; and if a " bad Name be an Argument againſt them, ſuch a " good one ſhould be as ſtrong in their Favour." To which I anſwer; That the Name was no good Name when it ſignified bad People; but when it is apply'd to ſignify that which is good, it becomes a good Name: So that the Goodneſs or Badneſs does not conſiſt in the Name; that, when written, only conſiſting of Letters, and when ſpoke, of an articulate Sound; that is, to denote ſomething it is apply'd to ſignify. I ſay, the Quality of the Body does not conſiſt in its Name, but in the Nature of the Thing named; ſo that altering the Names of Things, does not alter their Nature; for they retain that, let their Names be varied ever ſo much. For if the Name of Virtue was given to ill Actions, and of Vice to good ones, that would not make good bad, nor evil good; only Virtue would be ſcandalous, and Vice praiſe-worthy. So that this Jargon about Words, will tend little to the Doctor's Advantage.

He further ſays; " Sorcery is one of the moſt " common Names in our Law-Books for Witch- " craft, and is made Felony by our Statute: But " to what little Purpoſe would they ſpend their " Time, who ſhould go about to define the Crime " by the Name; for, in Strictneſs, Sorcery ſigni- " fies Lottery, and no more?" To which I anſwer, That if Sorcery be one of the moſt common Names of Witchcraft, and is Felony by the Statute; Sorcery and Witchcraft are in our Law ſynonymous Terms, and conſequently their Meaning is well underſtood; and there is no Occaſion to define the Crime by the Name, ſince the Nature of the Crime is well known, both by Fact, and the Names that expreſs that Fact; And the Etymology of the

Word

Word is not concerned, if it is borrow'd to ſignify Witchcraft; and we know it is made uſe of as a Characteriſtick of ſuch a Crime.

He proceeds: " It ſeems very likely, that there " hath happen'd as great a Change to the Word " *Witch*; for *Witch*, if Dr. *More* interprets it right- " ly, ſignifies a wiſe Woman; and we may be " pretty ſure that the Law was not, *Thou ſhalt not* " *ſuffer a wiſe Woman to live.*" To which I anſwer, That the *Magi* were counted wiſe Men, becauſe they knew and could do more than other People could do or know how to do; and ſo do Witches. But ſince all their Wiſdom and Power proceeds from their Correſpondence with evil Spirits, that Wiſdom is what is condemned by the Law, and ſuch wiſe Women are not fit to live.

The Doctor adds; " What the *Hebrew* Word " does ſignify, I find Interpreters much at a Loſs. " In the *Popiſh* Bible it is tranſlated *Inchanter*; and " that does not imply a Perſon in Covenant with " the Devil, but one that thought to work Won- " ders by ſinging powerful Verſes." To which I anſwer; That ſinging of no Verſes can be ſo powerful, as to effect ſuch Things as are done by Witchcraft or Inchantment, without the Aſſiſtance of the Devil or his Angels; and thoſe Verſes only ſerve to blind the World as a Charm, whilſt the Devil ſecretly does their Work for them. And as it is the Actions and the Perſon that does them that is puniſhed by the Law, and not an empty Word or Sound; ſo it matters not whether that Perſon be denoted by the word *Witch* or *Inchanter*, as long as it means the Perſon guilty of ſuch Actions.

The Doctor ſays further; " In the Vulgar *Latin* " it is *Veneſica*, or Poyſoner: In the *Septuagint* it " is Φάρμακος, a Word that favours the ſame Senſe. " *Junius* and *Tremellius* tranſlate it *Præſtigiatricem*, " a Juggler; and the *French* Church, a Sorcerer.

" The

" The other Names in the 18th of *Deuteronomy* are " interpreted as variouſly. Dr. *More*, and they that " give great Credit to the Power of Magick, tranſlate them into *Engliſh* Names that imply a great " Power; as, *Diviner*, *Inchanter*, *Charmer*, *Necromancer*, *Witch*, *Wizard*, and *Conſulter* with *familiar Spirits*. They that think all Magick to " be mere Juggle, without any real Power, tranſlate them *Aſtrologers*, *Fortunetellers*, *Soothſayers*, " *Impoſtors*, *Obſervers* of the *Flying* of *Birds*, *Conjecturers*, *Conſulters* with *Oracles*, *Ventriloquiſts*, " *Gnoſticks*, and *Jugglers*. The Tranſlations of " the *Septuagint*, *Junius* and *Tremellius*, the old " Tranſlation of our *Engliſh* Bible, with reſpect to " ſome of the Words, and very many Learned Men, " incline this way.

The Doctor highly approves any Thing that inclines the way that he is inclined, but I ſee not which way what he offers can tend to his Advantage: For tho' there may be a great many Appellations, that ſignify Perſons guilty of Actions of a ſiniſter Kind, yet the Difference of Words alters not the Nature of Things; and tho' theſe Words may ſometimes be uſed allegorically and reciprocally one for another, by ſome particular Authors, confounding ſimilar Caſes one with another; yet that they have different Senſes and Significations one from another, is plain from the Tranſlations we ought to eſteem moſt authentick, and that is our preſent Tranſlation of the Bible; which as it is publiſhed by the Authority of the Church, and thoſe whoſe Judgment ought to be preferr'd before the Opinion of Two or Three private Men, we think what the Doctor ſays not ſufficient to call in queſtion the Authority of ſo many Learned Men, well ſkill'd in Languages, and in the Senſe of Words.

That

That Sorcery, Divination, Inchantment and Witchcraft, are of ſimilar Kind of Actions is certain; ſince all theſe wicked Practices are put in Execution by Virtue of a Diabolical Power, and conſequently equally ſinful, and therefore equally condemned by the Scripture; but that they differ'd in their Effects, and reſpect different Kinds of Actions, is as plain; there being a great deal of Difference betwixt one that pretends to propheſy and foretel, and a wicked Spirit that tortures and torments, as in Witchcraft. And that there is a great deal of Difference in the Signification of theſe Words, is manifeſt from the Teſtimony of the Bible; where, *Deut.* 18. 10, 11. they are all diſtinctly mention'd in one or two Verſes, the Scripture expreſly ſaying, *There ſhall not be found amongſt you any one that maketh his Son or Daughter paſs thro' the Fire, or that uſeth Divination, or an Obſerver of Times, or an Inchanter, or a Witch, or a Charmer,* &c. Now if theſe Words had not different Meanings, what Occaſion would there be to mention them all diſtinctly? But this Diſtinction implies a Difference.

But the Doctor, to favour his Cauſe, would needs confound the Meaning of theſe Words, and flies to particular Tranſlations (not thinking it convenient to ſtand to that which the Church approves of) to gain his Point: He muſt have a Bible on Purpoſe; and would rather ſay the Bible is falſe, than his Opinion ſhould be rejected; ſince one or the other muſt be erroneous. But I am ſtill of Opinion, that the Bible, as now tranſlated, is of greater Authority (being the Senſe, and publiſh'd by the Conſent of the whole Church) than his ſingle Opinion, or the Concurrence of one or two that may ſay ſomething to favour his Cauſe.

Page 185, He quotes the *Mirror of Juſtice*, to prove "that Sorcery is the Art of Divination:" But this does not prove that Divination is Witchcraft;

craft; the former only conſulting the Devil and his Angels about what hath, or may happen; and the latter employing an evil Spirit to torment and torture their Fellow-Creatures, to ſatisfy their malicious, revengeful Tempers.

But, *Page* 186, he goes on: "And the Holy "Scriptures teach us the ſame Doctrine; 1 *Sam.* "15. 22, 23. *And Samuel ſaid, Hath the Lord as* "*great delight in Burnt-Offerings and Sacrifices,* "*as in obeying the Voice of the Lord? Behold, to* "*obey is better than Sacrifice, and to hearken than* "*the Fat of Rams. For Rebellion is as the Sin of* "*Witchcraft, and Stubbornneſs as Iniquity and Ido-*"*latry.* Over-againſt the word *Witchcraft* in the "Margin, is put *Divination*, which leads us to this "eaſy Senſe of *Samuel*'s pious Reproof." By this the Doctor would cunningly inſinuate, that *Witchcraft* is *Divination*, becauſe the Margin refers to a Sin of the like Kind, tho' different Practice: I ſay of the like Kind, becauſe they both employ a Diabolical Spirit, tho' employ'd in different Offices. The Doctor might as well ſay, that *Witchcraft* is *Rebellion*, becauſe the Text ſays, *Rebellion is as Witchcraft.* And indeed it is ſo in reſpect of God and his Works, ſince the Compact with the Devil is forſaking God, and their Actions war againſt his Works. But tho' the Doctor takes all this Pains to inſinuate as if there was no ſuch Thing as Witchcraft, or would endeavour to repreſent it ſo ſlightly, as by Divination, by Birds, &c. yet if we look further into the ſaid Book of *Samuel*, we ſhall find that there is a Difference betwixt Divination, which is only a juggling Art, and Witchcraft: And tho' a Witch may alſo divine, and both may proceed from the ſame Diabolical Power, yet they ſeem to be different Actions of that Power. And tho' the Doctor makes ſo ſlight of ſuch Creatures as *Witches* and *Diviners*, we may be fully ſatisfied of the

the Reality of such Actions, if we consult 1 *Sam.* 28. v. 3. *Now Samuel was dead, and all Israel had lamented him, and buried him in Ramah, even in his own City: And Saul had put away those that had familiar Spirits, and the Wizards out of the Land.* Where it appears, that there were those that were familiar with evil Spirits, and with Wizards and Witches.

And tho' the Doctor, *Page* 185, and 186, would represent *Witchcraft* by *Divination* only, and that as a slight *Divination* by *Augury*, &c. yet that the Scripture testifies to the contrary, is plain, not only from what we have frequently quoted from Scripture, but further from *Saul*'s Proceedings in this 28th Chapter of the first Book of *Samuel*, v. 6, to v. 15. *And when Saul enquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not, neither by Dreams, nor by Urim, nor by Prophets. Then said Saul unto his Servants, Seek me a Woman that hath a familiar Spirit, that I may go to her, and enquire of her. And his Servants said to him, Behold, there is a Woman that hath a familiar Spirit at Endor. And Saul disguized himself, and put on other Raiment; and he went, and two Men with him, and they came to the Woman by Night: And he said, I pray thee divine to me by the familiar Spirit, and bring me him up whom I shall name unto thee. And the Woman said unto him, Behold, thou knowest what Saul hath done, how he hath cut off those that have familiar Spirits, and the Wizards out of the Land; wherefore then layest thou a Snare for my Life, to cause me to dye? And Saul sware to her by the Lord, saying, As the Lord liveth, there shall no Punishment happen to thee for this Thing. Then said the Woman, Whom shall I bring up unto thee? And he said, Bring me up Samuel. And when the Woman saw Samuel, she cried with a loud Voice: And the Woman spake to Saul, saying, Why hast thou deceived me?*

for

for thou art Saul. And the King ſaid unto her, Be not afraid: For what ſaweſt thou? And the Woman ſaid unto Saul, I ſaw Gods aſcending out of the Earth. And he ſaid unto her, What Form is he of? And ſhe ſaid, An old Man cometh up; and he is covered with a Mantle. And Saul perceived that it was Samuel, and he ſtooped with his Face to the Ground, and bowed himſelf. And Samuel ſaid to Saul, Why haſt thou diſquieted me, to bring me up? From whence it fully appears, that there are not only Witches and Wizards which deal with Familiar Spirits, but that they have power to Act by thoſe Spirits, which may appear in what Shapes or Form they pleaſe.

But the Doctor would endeavour further to perſuade us to be of his Opinion, by quoting ſome Texts of Scripture, which he wreſts as well as he can to his Advantage; but if we take a full View of them, they appear wholly againſt him. The firſt is, *Jeremiah* xxvii. 9, 10. *Therefore hearken not ye to your Prophets, nor to your Diviners, nor to your Dreamers, nor to your Enchanters, nor to your Sorcerers, which ſpeak unto you, ſaying, Ye ſhall not ſerve the King of Babylon: For they Propheſy a Lie unto you, to remove you far from your Land.* Where he makes a Diſtinction betwixt Prophets and Diviners, Sorcerers and Enchanters, and warns the People of their wicked Practiſes. And again, *Iſaiah* xlvii. 12, 13. *Stand near with thy Inchantments, and with the Multitude of thy Sorceries, wherein thou haſt laboured from thy Youth; if ſo be thou ſhalt be able to profit, if ſo be thou mayeſt prevail. Thou art wearied in the Multitude of thy Counſels: Let now the Aſtrologers, the Star-gazers, the Monthly Prognoſticators ſtand up, and ſave thee from thoſe Things that ſhall come upon thee.* In which Text we ſee likewiſe, that Enchanters and Sorcerers are diſtinguiſhed from Aſtrologers and Stargazers; and all of them are de-

fied,

fied, when God Almighty is pleaſed to interpoſe his Superior Power, and to defeat their Works.

Thus it appears, that what the Doctor urges in favour of his Opinion, is againſt him; theſe Texts proving the Practice of Sorcery and Enchantments, though ineffectual, when oppoſed by that great Omnipotency, who can over-rule the Devices of Satan, and his evil Angels. And though he quotes a Text out of *Ezekiel* xxi. 21, 22. to prove, *That the King of Babylon ſtood at the parting of the Way, at the Head of the Two Ways, to uſe Divination*; what he adds, *viz. he made his Arrows bright, he conſulted with Images, he looked into the Liver. At his Right Hand was the Divination for Jeruſalem.* This does not weaken the Teſtimony of thoſe other Texts, which poſitively acknowledge, and expreſly mention *Witchcraft* and *Sorcery*; nor does this Method of Divining diſprove that which proceeds from Correſpondence with Familiar Spirits; nay, even in theſe Caſes, what was done by theſe Divinations, might not be without the Aſſiſtance of evil Spirits, who might direct them in their Obſervations.

Nor does what he mentions in the Prophet *Nahum*, leſs diſfavour his Opinion, *Nahum* iii. 4. *Becauſe of the Multitude of the Whoredoms of the well-favoured Harlot, the Miſtreſs of Witchcrafts, that ſelleth Nations through her Whoredoms, and Families through her Witchcrafts.* For in this Place, the Harlot is charged diſtinctly, both with Whoredom and Witchcraft; ſo that the Prophet does not ſay her Whoredoms were her Witchcrafts, as the Doctor would ſuggeſt. And the like we find in *Micah* v. 12. *And I will cut off Witchcrafts out of thine Hand, and thou ſhalt have no more Soothſayers.* Verſe 13. *Thy Graven Images alſo will I cut off.* In which Place the Prophet threatens Deſtruction to *Witchcraft* and *Soothſayers*, the latter of which probably

bably making their Forms of Predictions only a Cloak for what they did by Familiar Spirits. But here we are further to obſerve, that he likewiſe makes a Diſtinction betwixt *Witchcraft*, and thoſe Idolatries which the Doctor would ſuggeſt to be meant by their *Witchcrafts*.

Page the 191ſt, he ſays, " The Sorcerers in the " New Teſtament, were their falſe Apoſtles and Se- " ducers, and their *Witchcrafts* and *Sorceries* were " their pretended Inſpirations, Miracles and Viſions, " whereby they imitated, and tried to outdo the " true Apoſtles, ——they had their feigned Viſions, " Revelations, and counterfeit Inſpirations. That " is the Reaſon that St. *John*, 1 *Epiſt. c.* 4. *Verſe* 1. " exhorts the Chriſtians he wrote to, *To try the Spi-* " *rits whether they are of God, becauſe many falſe* " *Prophets are gone out into the World.*— The Sons " of *Sceva* ventured to make a Tryal, whether they " could not venture to caſt out a Devil; and though " at that Time he would not be ejected, at another " Time he might pretend to be overcome, that he " might give Credit to one of his own Inſtruments. Now if the Doctor allows that theſe Perſons were the Devil's Inſtruments, and acted by virtue of his Power, ſo that they imitated what was done by the Apoſtles, why are not theſe properly *Witchcrafts*, ſince they are done by a ſupernatural Power, and by the Aſſiſtance of an evil Spirit, which was not of God? For, as we have obſerved, all the Actions of Witches are not alike; ſometimes they torment and torture, ſometimes they delude and deceive Men with ſtrange Apparitions and Viſions, and ſo did theſe in the New Teſtament. But he ſays, *Page* 192, " That St. *Paul*, when he ſpeaks of *Witchcraft*, " uſually joins it with Idolatry and Hereſy." And well he may, ſince they are all Acts of the Devil, though of different Kinds; by the ſame Power, though by different Agents, and after a different Man-

Manner; yet this joining of these Words together, makes them no more signify the same Thing, than joining Idolatry and Heresy, makes those Two Words of a like Signification. But supposing the Word *Witchcraft* were used allegorically in that Sense, because both Crimes are alike of a heinous Nature, and all proceed from the Power and Delusions of the Devil, who withdraws Mankind from the Worship of the true God, to serve him; yet this would not necessarily make it imply, that there is no such Thing as *Witchcrafts*; nay, *Page* 193, he owns that there were such a sort of People called Witches; and *Page* 195, that their Works were Supernatural, above the Power of Man or Matter. And *Page* 194, he says, "Whosoever opposes "and corrupts God's Truth, whosoever promotes "Principles that give Liberty to Sin, (*not meaning* "*himself*) whosoever disturbs the Happiness of "Mankind——every such Man Sacrifices to the De-"vil, and his Actions may very justly be called the "Works of the Devil.

From what we have observed, it may sufficiently appear, that both the Old and New Testament accused several of *Witchcraft*; and that they, as well then as now, acted by the Assistance of a Diabolical Power; which is the Notion we have, at this present, of *Witches*; only the Restraint of the Laws, as they did the Witch of *Endor*, makes them afraid to act and follow their ill Practises openly; but were it not for that Restraint, no doubt but the Devil would be as ready to shew himself in the same Shapes as he ever did, and commit as great Enormities; but however cautiously these Creatures may now do the Devil's Work, though they escape the Laws of Men, and their Notice, they cannot Disguise themselves from the all seeing Eye of God, whose Vengeance will soon overtake, and fall upon them. And though the Doctor would extenuate

their

their Crimes, and excuſe them, it is the ſtrict Law of God, and his expreſs Command, that they ſhould not go unpuniſhed. I ſhall conclude this Chapter with what the Doctor ſays himſelf, *Page* 188, after all his Puzzle to diſſuade the ſame, *viz:* The Words of the Lord Chief-Baron *Hale*, which were part of his Direction to the Jury, at the Tryal of thoſe Two that he condemned. Said he, " The Wiſdom of all Nations hath provided Laws " againſt ſuch Perſons, which is an Argument of " their Confidence of ſuch a Crime.

CHAP. VIII.

Containing ſome Remarks on his Thirteenth Chapter, of the Laws of Nations.

THE Doctor throughout his Books, hath eſpouſed the Cauſe of *Witchcraft* with a great deal of Art, Zeal and Tenderneſs over them, complaining of the Severity of Proſecutions, and the Strictneſs of the Laws, which he would have mitigated or annulled, for the Encouragement and Safety of thoſe miſerable Creatures, though Divine Laws condemn them, as pernicious Abuſers of Mankind, and not fit to live.

And the better to diſpoſe the World to Moderation in ſuch Caſes, or a plenary Indulgence for the worſt of Crimes, in this Chapter he gives us an Account of the gradual Steps that were taken againſt ſuch Crimes, in different Times and Nations, which we ſhall take a brief View of, that we may the better determine how far they were in the right, and

and how far wrong, either to his Advantage, or againſt it.

Page the 199th, he thus begins; " And firſt, " *Lambertus Danæus* tells us, *Chap.* VI. that as " long as the Nations were Idolaters, they uſed " the Help of Magick and Sorcery without Scruple, " and had thoſe that were ſkilled in it in Honour; " and that to this Day, it is much in Uſe amongſt " the barbarous Nations, both in the *North* and *Eaſt*, " and amongſt the *Tartars*, and the *Weſt-Indians*. " He proceeds, that in all the Empire of *Perſia*, the " Study and Arts of theſe Men are in Eſteem " now, as it was amongſt the *Ægyptians* for- " merly.

" When *Joſeph* aſked his Brethren whether " they thought ſuch a Man as he could not Di- " vine; he ſpeaks not of Divination as a Fault, " but as a neceſſary Qualification of a great " Man.

" In the Magick of *Kirami* and *Carpocra-* " *tion*, it is ſaid that it was a neceſſary Quali- " fication, required in the Kings of *Perſia*. And " *Tully*, in his Book of Divination, ſays the " ſame.

" Moſt of the Ancient Philoſophers, the *Chal-* " *deans*, the *Magi*, *Druids*, *Brachmans*, and *Plato-* " *niſts*, allowed and uſed it.

But for this Practice of the Ancients, the Doctor gives a Reaſon himſelf. —" Natural Reaſon " could no ways gueſs, that thoſe Spirits were fallen " from their firſt Creation; or that they were Ene- " mies to Mankind. Their firſt Thoughts would ra- " ther be, that all reaſonable Creatures, though in- " viſible, would be of a friendly Mind, and aſſiſting " to all with whom they had Communications, and " either ſay nothing, or tell Truth to thoſe that en- " quired of them. This the firſt Men would na- " turally hope; and without Revelation, nothing

" but

" but Experience could teach them, that either there " was nothing but the Chance of Things, that ſeem- " ed to anſwer their Tryals; or elſe, that thoſe Spi- " rits that dealt with them, were deceitful and miſ- " chievous Things, that took a wicked Pleaſure in " their Deluſion and Deſtruction.

From whence it appears, that the Doctor allows and acknowledges theſe wicked Spirits, or Beings; and that it lay in their Power to deceive and delude Mankind. And that it was only for want of a Knowledge of God, and his Goodneſs, and the Devil and his Angels, that made them give ear to the Devil, and do his Works; and all that made it no Crime, was, for want of Revelations, and Laws to reſtrain that Practice: But the Doctor would aboliſh thoſe Laws, or hinder their Execution, let the Wicked go unpuniſhed, and leave the World at Liberty to uſe their Freedom; for in the beginning of this Eſſay, he is for leaving all to the Righteous Judge after Death, and will by no Means allow what he now expreſſes of the Communications of the Spirits; but it is a long way from the beginning of his Eſſay, and a Man may alter his Opinion in leſs Time than he was writing of it.

But now we are undeceived as to the Nature of thoſe evil Spirits, and know both their ill Intentions and Deſigns, we are to ſtand upon our Guard, and oppoſe ſuch Practices with all our Might, we ought to abandon the Devil, and forſake all his Works, and to have no ſuch Communication with him. To which End, and to diſcourage ſuch miſtaken Notions, Divine Revelation having put us into a better Light, as the Doctor takes Notice, Laws were made to forbid the Dealing with ſuch wicked Spirits; and, as the Doctor ſays,

" The Laws in the Holy Scripture, are the firſt " that we know of: and it muſt ever be accounted to " the Honour of revealed Religion, that it was the

" firſt in forbidding ſuch pretended, and very dan-
" gerous Communications." Here I cannot but wonder, why the Doctor ſhould call them pretended Communications, if dangerous, ſince they cannot be dangerous, except real; and if not real, where would be the Honour of forbidding them? And if it be an Honour to forbid them, Why would the Doctor have Religion loſe that Honour, in not executing the Laws made againſt ſuch Crimes? For though there was no Sin till Laws were made, now they are eſtabliſhed, they ought to be put in Execution againſt ſuch abominable Breaches of Laws preſcribed by God's eſpecial Command, by the Mouth of the Prophets.

He goes on, and ſays; " The next that I meet
" with, and which is often quoted to prove the real
" Power of Magick, are thoſe of the Twelve Ta-
" bles: That they ſhould not bewitch the Fruits of
" the Earth, nor uſe any Charms to draw their
" Neighbours Corn into their own Fields;"— And though the Doctor, by *Seneca*'s Authority, calls the Truth of this in Queſtion, yet, at that Time when thoſe Laws were made, they muſt be ſenſible of ſome extraordinary Effects of ſuch Charms, or they would never have enacted Laws againſt them.

He goes on; " About a Hundred and Fifty Years
" after that, the *Lex Cornelia*, another *Roman* Law,
" was made, and is uſually quoted as a Law againſt
" Sorcery. And indeed it was againſt Poiſoning,
" & *mala Sacrificia*, (*i. e.* Sacrifices to Devils)
" and was made when a Hundred and Seventy *Roman*
" Women, of the better Quality, were condemned
" for really poiſoning thoſe they had a mind to re-
" move." This Law the Doctor would have to ſuggeſt, that Sorcery ſignify'd Poiſoning; but that, notwithſtanding this Inſinuation, muſt be equally deſigned againſt what was called Sorcery, the Word Sorcery referring to *mala Sacrificia*, which I call Sacrifices

Sacrifices to Devils; becauſe thoſe which they allowed of, according to their Form of Worſhip, could not be called ill Sacrifices, but good; and we are told by Witches, that they often keep mock Sacrifices, or Sacraments to the Devil, in Contempt of the true Sacrament.

He proceeds, "The next Law that I know of, "was made by *Conſtantine*, the firſt *Roman* Empe-"ror: His Law required, that they ſhould be pu-"niſhed, if they uſed Charms to do Hurt; but it "ſhould be lawful to uſe them for reſtoring Health, "or preſerving the Fruits of the Earth." From which Law it appears, that they had a Power to do Hurt, by Virtue of their Charms, and did a great deal, otherwiſe they had not been ſo far taken Notice of, as to oblige the Government to make Laws to prevent their ill Effects; and that they have a Power likewiſe to do Good, may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, if we do but take Notice of the Wonders the Magicians performed, by Virtue of their Charms, in Imitation of the Miracles which *Moſes* did, which were done to ſhew the Power of the true God, far exceeding the Efforts of the Devil and his Angels, who aſſiſted thoſe Magicians in their Performance. The Words of this Law, as the Doctor cites them, are as follows: "Their Skill is to be con-"demned, and very deſervedly puniſhed in the ſe-"vereſt Manner; who being furniſhed with Know-"ledge of the Magick Art, ſhall have acted any "Thing, either for the impairing of a Man's "Health, or drawing chaſte Minds to unlawful Love. "But no Vexations are to be brought againſt Re-"medies that are ſought for the Bodies of Men, "or Charms that are innocently uſed in Country "Places, &c.

"About a Hundred Years after that, the Em-"peror *Leo* the Firſt, abrogated this Law, and for-"bad all Uſe of them." He proceeds further, and

ſays; "Mr. *Tyrrel*, in his Hiſtory of *England*, "*Vol.* I. *Book* V. *Page* 340, ſays, that the Sixth "Law of King *Athelſtan*, was againſt *Witchcrafts*, "*Enchantments*, and the like Deeds that procure "Death. That if any of them be made away, and "the Thing cannot be denied, ſuch Practiſers ſhall "be put to Death." Now if we take a View of all theſe Laws, we ſhall find, that as Virtue and Religion gave the World a better Taſte and Diſguſt to theſe vicious Practices, they ſtill inflicted ſeverer Puniſhments on Offenders; but now Religion is ſlighted and ſunk to a low Ebb, and Vice flouriſhes without Controul, all manner of Wickedneſs going unpuniſhed; we live almoſt as looſe, as Mankind in their firſt Blindneſs, before the Will of God was revealed to us. All manner of Puniſhments of Vice are ſo much remitted and mitigated, that it is no wonder a Stickler ſhould ſet up in Defence of theſe Criminals, leſt they ſhould not have their equal ſhare of Indulgence with the reſt of Sinners.

After human Laws, the Doctor mentions ſome Canons of the Church, which condemn theſe evil Practices; and ſays, *Page* 205, "Theſe Canons "teach us, that ſuch Wizards deſerve Puniſhment, "as it is moſt certain they do." And the next Paragraph he ſubjoins, "There are ſome other Ca"nons that cenſure them, without defining their Art." Which ſhews that the Church hath in all Ages cenſured and condemned ſuch Vices, and conſequently believed them to be true; yet notwithſtanding, the Doctor endeavours to inſinuate the contrary of what he allows in the ſame Paragraph, in theſe Words, "But by joining them with thoſe known "Cheats, I think, they intimate to us, that they "thought them very like one another;" as if they could ſuppoſe what they thought true, like what they diſapproved; yet in one Senſe I am of his Opinion, that what is a Cheat, may be very like what is true,

or

or it would not be very likely to impoſe upon any body.

Here he goes on; "But that which I reckon to "have ſet this Point of *Witchcraft* upon the Foot "that it ſtands on now, was ſomething leſs than "Law or Canon; it was that Bull I mentioned, of "Pope *Innocent*'s the Eighth." This is but a weak Argument to leſſen the Belief of the Footing it is now upon; but it cannot leſſen the Credit of its Footing, becauſe the Pope believes *Witchcraft*; ſince it is rather an additional Confirmation of what we believe, ſince both we and they conſent jointly to the ſame Senſe of the Scriptures, which confirms both our Beliefs. But further, I do not underſtand why the Doctor ſhould build our Belief upon this Bull, when, in the next Chapter, he ſays, it was from *Scotland.*

But, as I was ſaying before, this additional Conſent in Opinion may confirm ours. I ſhall take a View of this Bull, as the Doctor gives it us. Which is as followeth:

"*Innocent*, Biſhop, a Servant of the Servants of "God, in perpetual Memory of the Thing, &c. "It is come to our Ears, that great Numbers of "both Sexes, careleſs of their own Salvation, and "falling from the Catholick Faith, are not afraid to "abuſe their own Bodies, with Devils that ſerve to "both Sexes. And with their Inchantments, "Charms and Sorceries, they vex and afflict Man "and Beaſt, both with inward and outward Pains "and Tortures. They render Men and Women im-"potent for Generation. They deſtroy the Births "of Women, and the Increaſe of Cattle. They "blaſt the Corn of the Ground, the Grapes of the "Vine, the Fruit of the Trees, and the Graſs and "Herbs of the Fields.

" We, therefore, according to our Duty, being " deſirous to apply fit Remedies for ſo great an Evil, " do by our Apoſtolick Authority, appoint by theſe " Preſents, &c. that the Perſons aforeſaid, ſhall " exerciſe the Office of *Inquiſiti*, and correct, impri- " ſon, puniſh and fine, &c. all Perſons that ſhall " be found guilty of the Crimes aforeſaid, &c. " And whereas many, both of the Clergy and Laity, " ſeeking to be wiſe above what is fit, did not " bluſh to aſſert, that the Perſons were not to be " proſecuted in thoſe Points, we command all " Oppoſers, Contradictors, or hinderers of thoſe " Proſecutions, of whatſoever State, Dignity, Ex- " cellence or Præeminence they may be, to be ex- " communicated, or ſuſpended, as Occaſion ſhall re- " quire, or puniſhed with greater or more formida- " ble Puniſhments; and, if there be Need, that the " ſecular Arm be called in to help. Given at *Rome*, " in the Year of the Incarnation of our Lord, " 1484.

Upon this Occaſion the Doctor builds, or at leaſt endeavours to force a way to gain his Point, and make his Opinion more apt to be credited; he thinks all will eſpouſe his Cauſe againſt a Popiſh Bull, though our own Church, and the Scripture believe the ſame; therefore, after telling us that a great many were executed upon this, and that great Terror was ſpread about the Country, for fear of theſe Witches, and that great Numbers were condemned and executed; he ſays, " The Writers of that Age " ſtudied for Cauſes, which might be the Reaſon " why they had ſo many Witches above former " Times; the Reaſon they aſſign is, that their Age " was a Time of great Illumination, and therefore " God permitted the Devil the more Power, that " their Temptations might be proportionable to " their Talents." But the Doctor not approving of this,

this, as not being to his Purpoſe, ſays, " But the " Reaſon I muſt give is, that it was an Age of Su- " perſtition and Ignorance, and their own Creduli- " ty and Folly, and joining *Witchcraft* with *He-* " *reſy.*" But ſince the Doctor owns that *Witchcraft* was in the Caſe, he might as well have ſaid ſo many Witches was the Reaſon; but Superſtition and Ignorance always ſtand by the Doctor for Reaſons: But I would aſk the Doctor, whether the Times when Revealed Religion but juſt appeared, was not likely to be an Age of more Ignorance? And the Times of our Saviour were not alſo more Ignorant and Superſtitious, before the Will of God, or the Light of the Goſpel was well known, or ſhone through the World? Which I believe ſo plain and manifeſt, that I need no Arguments to prove the great Advantages we had of more Light, to diſperſe Ignorance and Superſtition. And I ſuppoſe they were more brief in thoſe Times, when God Almighty, by his Prophets, denounced ſuch heavy Judgments, and ſevere Puniſhments. And this appears from what the Doctor himſelf hath obſerved; for before the Light of Revealed Religion, as he obſerves in the beginning of this Chapter we are conſidering, the Practice of Magick, and dealing with Familiar Spirits, was no Crime, they then not knowing the Devil to be their Enemy; and therefore ſo many being ſkilled in thoſe Arts, it muſt be a long Time before ſo great an Evil could be rooted out; but a greater and clearer Light of Nature, and Severity of Laws, hath gradually cleared the World of thoſe Practices in a great Meaſure; though I am apt to think, that the Devil hath a great many Agents yet of that Kind, though they work more cunningly, and do not act ſo open-faced.

But the Doctor adds, " Some Obſervations con- " cerning the State of the Age, and the particular

" Arguments, with which they maintained their " Opinion.

" First, he says, the Authority of these Inquisi- " tions was not grounded upon any Canon of a " Council, but a Pope's Bull." To which I answer, that the Pope's Authority in his own Territories, is counted sufficient; and consequently the Inquisition legal in their Constitution; and if they found them guilty, the Law of God condemns them.

The Doctor's Second Observation is, " That their " Heads were full of Romances, Legends and Spi- " rits, and Melancholy Notions." So that the Doctor will allow evil Spirits to be in the People, though not bewitched. And rather than want a bundle of Words, instead of an Argument, supposes the whole Country to be Hypochondriack, and the World a universal Mad-house, filled with a crazy Generation.

His Third Observation is, " That the Council of " *Aquileas* had determined, they could not really " change a Man or a Woman into any other Shape; " but the Confessions of the Witches proved to the " contrary." This is but a small Argument for the Doctor; for though they may not be transformed in Real Substance, yet they may in Appearance, as is manifest by what the Doctor adds against himself; or Satan may delude them, so that they think themselves transformed, and may appear so, though they are not. Instances enough of which Delusions, we have given in our *Compleat History*.

After some Banter, not worth Notice, the Doctor observes, *Page* 113, that the casting Evidence in most Tryals, was the Confessions of the Parties, and these Confessions were drawn from them by Tortures. Thus they use the Rack upon the Wheel, in other Crimes less heinous; but I should scarce make use of such Means, without very strong Presumptions of Reality; but that best appeared to those who were

were to try them, and by the Circumſtances of their Accuſation and Tryal. But methinks the Doctor ought not to ſuſpect thoſe Confeſſions, ſince *Page* 210, juſt before, he acknowledges himſelf, that *Hereſy* and *Witchcraft* joined, were the Occaſion of ſo many being executed.

The next Chapter is wholly ſpent in Remarks on our Statutes againſt *Witchcraft*, &c. but ſince that conſiſts either of Reflections on Religion, or Suppoſitions of the Doctor's, I ſee nothing that either wants, or is worth while to argue about; it is plain the Government thought fit to make Statutes againſt ſuch Practices; and that *Page* 224, *Agnes Sympſon*, and ſeveral others, confeſſed themſelves guilty of *Witchcraft*. "And *Agnes Sympſon* told King "*James*, ſhe had been at Church at Eleven a Clock "at Night, with above a Hundred other Witches. "They had black Candles, ſhe ſaid, ſet round the "Pulpit, and the Devil, in a black Gown and Hat, "preached to them, that they ſhould keep his Com- "mandments, of doing all the Ill they could. Then "they opened Three Graves, and took the Fingers "and Toes, and Noſes of the Dead People, and "ſhe had a Winding-ſheet, and Two Joints, for "her Share. After that they kiſſed the Devil's "Backſide, and went away." Upon which King *James* the Firſt, a Prince of great Learning, and as great natural Parts, took Care to provide a Statute againſt ſuch Proceedings. The Words to that Purpoſe being as follows: "If any ſhall take up any "dead Man, Woman, or Child, out of his or her "or their Graves, or any other Place where the "Dead Body reſteth, or the Skin, Bones, or any "other Part of any dead Perſon, to be employed or "uſed in any manner of Witchcraft, Inchantment, "Charm or Sorcery." This the Doctor ſuppoſes was promoted by that good King; and if ſo, it is of greater Force, and an additional Argument on our

ſide; for if ſo great a Prince, both in Parts, Learning, and Piety, thought Reaſon ſufficient on his Side, to perſuade him to ſuch an Opinion, it ought to have the ſtronger Influence, ſince it was not either with deſign of Profit or Advantage, that moved him to that Faith, but the Evidence of Reaſon, Scripture, and moral Teſtimony.

The Doctor goes on, " And I muſt add, that the " Tranſlation of our Bible being made ſoon after, " by King *James*'s particular Deſire, hath received " ſome Phraſes that favour the vulgar Notions, more " than the old Tranſlation did:" I am glad we have ſo worthy a Patriot on our Side, who was a great Scholar, and unbiaſſed in his Actions, and underſtanding that Language, was able to ſee Juſtice done to the Original.

But the Doctor ſays, " At that unhappy Time, " there was brought in that groſs Notion of a Fa- " miliar Spirit, though the *Hebrew* Word hath no " Epithet at all; and ſhould rather have been tran- " ſlated into ſome of thoſe Words, that ſignify a " cheating *Ventriloquiſt*." To which I anſwer, that though there be no Epithet in the *Hebrew*, yet as thoſe Spirits are made Familiar, by their Communication with ſuch as employ them, the Epithet is juſt; but though the Doctor diſlike the Epithet Familiar, yet he would gladly admit of the Epithet Cheating, becauſe that would ſerve his Purpoſe; beſides, the Word *Ventriloquiſt*, or ſome of thoſe, would very well ſuit the Nature of his Diſcourſe.

Page 227, the Doctor proceeds, " Not that I " would have our cheating Fortunetellers, Jugglers, " pretended Conjurers, Witch-Doctors, Gypſies, " Calculators of Nativities, or any that are guilty " of cruel Curſes, and Threatnings, or any real " outward Acts of Sorcery, to be ſuffered unpuniſhed. " I am ſo far from that, that I heartily wiſh the " Grand-Juries would preſent ſuch Miſdemeanors,

" and

" and have them puniſhed more ſeverely than they " are." Here the Doctor owns real Acts of Sorcery, and would have them puniſhed worſe than they are; though throughout his Eſſay, he was for excuſing and mitigating both the Nature of their Crimes and Puniſhment. According to this, it is a hard Thing to know which Side the Doctor is on; for now he contradicts what he hath often ſaid before, and juſt now in the ſame *Page*, where he would have Familiar Spirits called cheating *Ventriloquiſts*; the latter of which he explains elſewhere, a way of diſſembling and feigning of Sounds. So that the Doctor repreſents Two Perſons, but not like the Two *Soſias* in *Amphitryon*, which could not be diſtinguiſhed, but ſo much oppoſite and unlikely, that they are quite contrary to one another.

We ſhall conclude this Chapter with this Obſervation, *viz.* That the Doctor, *Page* 227, ſays further, " Theſe Doctrines have often been made " Party Cauſes, both in our own and other Na- " tions. One Side lays hold of them as Arguments " of greater Faith and Orthodoxy, and cloſer Adhe- " rence to Scripture, and calls the other Atheiſts, " Sadducees and Infidels. The People eaſily fall in " with ſuch popular Pretences." That theſe Doctrines are made uſe of as Party Buſineſs, is plain, by the Doctor's various Reflections; and I am not aſhamed, that my Arguments and Opinion have this greater Truth, by their cloſe Adherence to Scripture; and though I call the Doctor neither Atheiſt nor Infidel, becauſe he thinks fit to vary his Opinion from ſuch cloſe Adherence to Scripture, yet I ſhall be glad to be one of thoſe People always, that fall in with ſuch popular Pretences. I take the Scripture to be the Rule and Standard of my Belief, as it is tranſlated and publiſhed by the conſent of the Church, and with their Approbation, who are the Heads of the Church, and have moſt Right and Probability of lead-

leading me in the right Way; but if the Doctor pleaſes to quit his Adherence to the Scripture, and diſallows the Validity of its Teſtimony, he may be his own Chuſer, but ſhall not be my Director.

Hitherto we have conſidered and examined what the Doctor hath ſaid of *Witchcraft*, either as he defends his own Opinion, or is againſt it, or ours; in the next Place, he proceeds to a Collection of Impoſtors detected, as he calls them; but my Intent being only to vindicate Truth, and not to concern my ſelf on purpoſe with Impoſitions, I ſhall leave the Doctor to enjoy the Satisfaction he may have in his Collection of Impoſtures, having ſaid what is ſufficient to vindicate our compleat Hiſtory of confirmed Truths. And though the Doctor ſays, *Page* 286, "That that Judge that hangs a Witch, will never be "thought a Conjurer:" Yet he that does not hang a Witch upon fair Proof, and lawful Evidence, neither acts according to the Laws of God nor Man.

Having thus finiſhed the firſt Part, and examin'd what the Doctor hath ſaid of *Witchcraft*, we ſhall next proceed to the Second Part, where we ſhall further conſider what is neceſſary to determine the Power and Poſſibility of *Witchcraft*.

A Vin-

A Vindication of a Compleat History of Magick, Sorcery, *and* Witchcraft, *&c.*

In Answer to

Dr. *Hutchinson*'s HISTORICAL ESSAY.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

Of the Nature of Material and Immaterial Substances.

THAT we may more clearly apprehend how human Bodies may be afflicted by by the Power of *Witchcraft*, and how those Servants or Agents of the Devil may put their evil Practices in Execution, by the Mediation or Assistance of evil Spirits, we are to consider the Nature and Properties of human Bodies, and of Spirits, and how the former may be altered, and preternaturally indispos'd by the Influence of the latter.

And first, that we may form the clearer and more intelligible Ideas, of the Nature and Properties of human

human Bodies, we are to consider, that a human Body consists of Material Parts, and an Immaterial Soul; which united to that Body, aptly organized, makes up the compleat Creature, called Man.

And as human Kind, which are chiefly the Subject the Devil and his Agents work upon, and affect in the Practice of *Witchcraft*, consist of a Material and Immaterial Substance united, both of which are affected by the Diabolical Power of *Witchcraft*; that we may the better understand how the former are or may be disordered by the latter, both as Material and Immaterial, we shall first consider the Nature of Material and Immaterial Substances, in Relation to human Bodies, and then of Spirits Good or Evil; especially Diabolical, as they act upon both the former.

And first, to form a clearer Notion or Idea of human Bodies, as material, we are to consider, that when that great Omnipotent Power, which was the first Cause of all Things, first created Matter, it consisted of Parts of an Homogeneous Nature; no one Part, as Matter, being different from another: So that material Substance in its Primitive State, and as the Substance of Accidents, was a similar Body, not diversified by different Qualities.

But when, by the Will of that eternal Power, who first created Matter, the Parts of it were put in Motion, they soon divided one another into Parts of different Sizes, Shapes and Magnitude; which again convening or being added together in various Manners or Modes, according to that different Contexture put on new Forms, and consequently Matter consisting of Parts in different Forms, became Heterogeneous, in respect of one another, being diversified from one another by those Forms.

Now when Matter had thus put on different Forms, by a new Convention or Coalition, and Contexture of Parts, they acquired different Qualities,

lities, and acted upon one another after different Manners, ſtill adding to the Variety of new Forms, and conſequently different Qualities, as they were united and joined together variouſly, and modified after a diſtinct Manner. Thoſe Compoſitions of new Forms, which were in Motion, and continued ſo, made up and compoſed different Kinds of Liquids, or fluid Subſtances, but thoſe which happened to ceaſe from Motion, and to unite in a perfect Reſt, formed ſolid Bodies, various according to their different united Parts, or the Variety of concerted Forms.

If then, primary Matter came thus to be diverſified into different Subſtances, and Liquid Bodies conſiſt of Parts in a conſtant and perpetual Motion, as long as they continue Fluid; it will follow that the Parts of Matter acting upon one another, by Virtue of their Motion, will ſtill break the Parts of Matter ſo compounded, into Parts of different Size and Shape from what they were before; and thoſe new modified Parts being again united, will make different Subſtances, or new Forms; and as theſe Parts are more or leſs Rarified and Subtle, they will inſinuate themſelves betwixt the Parts of other groſſer Bodies, and ſubtilize and rarify them; but if they meet with Parts that reſiſt their Force, they will be entangled betwixt thoſe groſſer Parts, and loſing their acquired Motion, unite with that Solid, and altering its Form by their Concurrence, will alter its Qualities.

Thus Bodies, or material Subſtances, by conſtantly acting one upon another, are ſubject to ſucceſſive Alterations, and to put on new Forms, and conſequently to be endowed with new Qualities. So that material Subſtances being always liable to theſe Alterations, are not only ſaid to be corruptible, ſince their Forms are always liable to be changed, and their Qualities to differ; but as they compoſe human

Bodies,

Bodies, either in a Solid or Liquid Form, thoſe Bodies are liable to Decay, and to be put out of their Natural State; for human Bodies conſiſt not only of Solid Parts, which may alter their Qualities, as I juſt obſerved, by the addition of Parts in Motion, entangled in their Pores, and altering the Form of the whole; but Liquid Bodies alſo being made up, and compoſed of Parts of different and heterogeneous Qualities, they likewiſe become ſubject to Changes, and are liable to be depraved and perverted from their natural State, which renders human Bodies corruptible, and ſubject to Death, or thoſe leſs pernicious Diſorders, which occaſion the various Symptoms both of internal and external Diſtempers; as Deliriums, Convulſive Motions of the Stomach, Inteſtines, and *Diaphragma*, and alſo of the Muſcles; but when theſe appear, they are eaſily diſtinguiſhed, and known as the proper Symptoms that attend particular Diſtempers.

But the Liquid, and conſequently the Solid Parts of a human Body, are not only ſubject to Alterations, by the Influence and mutual Coaction of the Parts of the ſame Body, but alſo by the Concurrence of external Cauſes, which are Extrinſick, and Non-natural, in reſpect of thoſe Humours that the Body conſiſts of; as the Temperature of the Air, the Qualities of which are variouſly diverſify'd, accordingly as it is impregnated with the addition of Particles exhaling from the Bowels, or the Superficies of the Earth.

Human Bodies receive different Alterations likewiſe, from the various Natures, or the Temper of thoſe Things they receive their Nouriſhment from; whether Solids, as common Food of different Kinds, or Liquids of ſeveral Natures, either altered by Fermentation, Digeſtion, or Diſtillation.

The Tempers of our Bodies alſo are very much altered, by the ſtrong Impreſſions of Paſſions of the Mind;

Mind; for as the Mind is of a chearful or melancholy Diſpoſition, ſo the Humours of human Bodies, are better or leſs digeſted; and conſequently the Temper of the whole altered; thus we ſee thoſe of a chearful Temper of Mind, of a hearty and wholeſome Diſpoſition of Body, briſk, lively, and vivacious; whereas thoſe of melancholy Diſpoſitions, linger and pine away; and accordingly, as Bodies are more or leſs inclined to either of theſe Two Tempers, ſo Conſtitutions vary, and are either healthful and ſtrong, or infirm and diſordered.

Nay, the Impreſſions of the Mind are ſo ſtrong, and the Diſpoſition of the Humours ſo eaſily altered by them, that daily Experience is ſufficient to convince us, how the Temperature of the Body is to be diſcovered by the Influence of the Soul. Several Perſons, through Grief and Sorrow, gradually decline, pine away, and die; and others, by the contrary Paſſions, having their Spirits raiſed and animated, recruit and recover from a lingring Condition, to a State of Health.

There is ſuch a ſtrict Union betwixt the Soul and Body, that they both Sympathize with their mutual, or each others Changes; if the Body be afflicted, the Soul ſuffers, and the Spirits are depreſſed, and conſequently the whole languiſhes and decays.

Thus much being ſufficient to our preſent Purpoſe, as to the Nature of Material Subſtances, which are ſubject to Changes, and are endowed with corruptible Qualities; we ſhall next, according to our preſent Intention, proceed to conſider the Nature of immaterial Subſtances, as they relate to human Souls, or ſuch immaterial Subſtances as may be united, and cohabit with them, and be of eternal Duration, and continue with them for ever.

What Changes Matter, in the State it is now in, muſt undergo, to become immaterial or immortal, we cannot ſo throughly underſtand, as to form adequate Notions

Notions of it; we can only affirm Negatively, that an immaterial Subſtance muſt have none of thoſe Qualities it now hath in a Mortal State; an immaterial Subſtance muſt not conſiſt of Parts in Motion, as Matter does, for then they would be apt and ſubject to Decay, Parts flying away, and making a loſs of Subſtance; they muſt not want Supplies of additional Subſtance, none of their former being wanting; their Sight muſt be of another Kind, and a different manner of Viſion, having no ſuch Organs as are common to corruptible Creatures; nor muſt their other Qualities be like thoſe of corruptible Bodies.

But tho' we cannot form adequate Notions of this Change, nor throughly comprehend how Matter may be ſo alter'd as to become immaterial, yet that it may and will be ſo, is plain from the Teſtimony of Scripture, and the Article of our Belief concerning the Reſurrection. And firſt, 1 *Cor.* 15. 40. we are told, *There are alſo celeſtial Bodies, and Bodies terreſtrial; but the Glory of the celeſtial is one, and the Glory of the terreſtrial another.* And again, v. 51, 52. *We ſhall not all ſleep, but we ſhall be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the laſt Trump. For the Trumpet ſhall ſound, and the Dead ſhall be raiſed incorruptible, and we ſhall be changed.* And to illuſtrate this Change, *v.* 53. the Apoſtle ſays, *For this Corruptible muſt put on Incorruption, and this Mortal muſt put on Immortality.* From whence it appears, that this Body muſt not only be incorruptible, but what now is ſubject to Corruption, muſt be ſo alter'd as to become immortal, and conſequently an immaterial Subſtance; ſince what is not immaterial, muſt be mortal.

But to ſhew further that Matter muſt be ſo alter'd as to become immaterial, the Apoſtle (*v.* 44. of the ſame Chapter) tells us more intelligibly the Immateriality

teriality of this changed mortal Subſtance, in theſe Words; *It is ſown a natural Body, it is raiſed a ſpiritual Body*: So that it muſt needs follow, that if this Celeſtial, incorruptible, immortal Body becomes ſpiritual, it muſt conſequently be immaterial; ſince all ſpiritual Bodies are immaterial Subſtances.

And that Material Subſtances may and will be changed into immaterial ones, is further evident from what we find in the Third Chapter of *Philippians*, v. 21. the Verſe before ſpeaking of *our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhall change our vile Body, that it may be faſhioned like unto his glorious Body*; where this vile terreſtrial Houſe we live in, made of Clay, is to be changed into an immaterial Subſtance.

From what we have ſaid it appears, That Matter may be changed into an Immaterial Subſtance, which muſt be united to and cohabit with the Soul, and be of Eternal Duration, and continue with it for ever: And that this is the Senſe and Meaning of the Scripture, not only appears from the Texts already mention'd, but from the Opinion of the Church deliver'd in the *Articles of our Faith*; and firſt in that of

ARTICLE II. *Of the Word, or Son of God, which was made very Man.*

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from Everlaſting of the Father, the very and Eternal God, of one Subſtance with the Father, took Man's Nature in the Womb of the bleſſed Virgin, of her Subſtance: So that Two whole and perfect Natures, that is to ſay, the Godhead and Manhood, were joined together in One Perſon, never to be divided——

And

And that Matter muſt be ſo changed as to become immaterial, and loſe its corruptible mortal Qualities, (given to Change, and ſubject to accidental Alterations) and that it muſt put on ſuch a Form as will make it capable of Eternal Duration, is not only evident from this *Article of our Faith*, but alſo from the *Fourth Article.*

ARTICLE IV. *Of the Reſurrection of Chriſt.*

Chriſt did truly riſe from Death, and took again his Body, with Fleſh, Bones, and all Things appertaining to the Perfection of Man's Nature, wherewith he aſcended into Heaven, and there ſitteth until he return to judge all Men at the laſt Day.

From both which *Articles of our Belief* it is not only manifeſt, that corruptible Matter muſt put on Incorruption, but alſo that Material Subſtance muſt become immaterial, otherwiſe it would not be of everlaſting Duration: And that Matter muſt undergo this Change, and become immaterial, is not only plain from the Evidence of Scripture; as 1 *Cor.* 15. 49, 50. *And as we have born the Image of the Earthy, we ſhall alſo bear the Image of the Heavenly. Now this I ſay, Brethren, that Fleſh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God; neither can Corruption inherit Incorruption:* I ſay, it is not only evident from Scripture, that Matter muſt undergo this Change, but Reaſon it ſelf convinceth us of the Neceſſity of it: For as Material Bodies are conſtantly ſubject to Decay, and ſtand in need of freſh Supplies of Nouriſhment to ſupport them, and are too of a periſhing Kind; ſo it is neceſſary they ſhould be transformed into Celeſtial, or Immaterial Spirituous Bodies, that ſtand in need of no ſuch Suſtenance, but may be durable and fit to continue,

tinue, without being ſubject to Alterations, to all Eternity.

And here we may take notice and obſerve by the by, that the Soul does not only want and ſtand in need of a fleſhly and carnal Body in this World, to make it a fit Habitation on this Globe, and adapted with proper Organs of Senſe, to convey Ideas of carnal Things to it whilſt it remains here, that the Soul may have a true Senſe and Taſte of worldly Objects, to render this World in ſome meaſure ſatisfactory to it; but alſo we are to take notice, that Celeſtial Souls or Spirits have Celeſtial Bodies joined to them, as proper Habitations for thoſe more refined Subſtances in thoſe Manſions of Bliſs, and aptly formed to make them ſerviceable in thoſe Celeſtial Regions, and fit to convey Spiritual Ideas of Heavenly Objects to that more Intellectual Subſtance which is joined to theſe Celeſtial Bodies.

Having ſaid thus much of Material and Immaterial Subſtances in their neareſt Relation to one another, and as the one forms Terreſtrial and the other Celeſtial Bodies; we ſhall next proceed to take a View, in ſome Meaſure, of thoſe more refined Spirits which inhabit theſe Celeſtial Bodies, and which are more immediately concerned in the Actions of Immaterial Spirits; or which are Celeſtial Subſtances of a more refined Nature and Power, endowed with the Qualities of Thinking, Reaſoning, and of Communicating their Ideas from one to the other.

The next Degree of Immaterial Subſtances (above that which conſiſts of Matter, tranſmuted and changed into an Immaterial Subſtance, and which forms Celeſtial Bodies) is the Soul or Spirit of a Man, which hath the Power of Thinking, Reaſoning, and receiving Ideas of External Objects, not only by the common Senſories which convey them from

from External Objects, but alſo of reciprocal Conveying and Receiving Ideas of Objects laid up in the common Repoſitories of the Mind from one to another.

This Power of communicating our Ideas from one to the other, is a ſtrong Argument and Demonſtration of the Sublimity and Excellency of a Rational Soul in Human Fleſh ſubſiſting: And tho' here *we ſee* but *thro' a Glaſs darkly*, being clouded by the Incumbrance of Terreſtrial Vapours about our Underſtandings, which obſtruct the brighter Operations of the Mind; yet when we come to *ſee Face to Face*, in a refined, Celeſtial, and Immaterial Body, our Thinking will be more ſublime, our Conceptions clearer, and our Ideas brighter. Yet the Soul, even as it is, in its darkſome Cell of fleſhly Subſtance, is a glorious Specimen of Infinite Wiſdom, and ſtupendous Power.

God Almighty hath not only endowed us with the Capacity of Thinking, and Reaſoning, and Receiving as well as Communicating Ideas of Things about us, but hath enabled us to contemplate his Works of Superior Orders, and to know likewiſe that we are not much Inferior to ſome of them. *Pſal.* 8. 5. *For thou haſt made him a little lower than the Angels; and haſt crowned him with Glory and Honour.*

And this Capacity God hath given us of diſcerning our State and Station, till we ſhall be tranſlated to his Celeſtial Manſions, gives a certain and undeniable Proof of the Exiſtence of human Souls or Spirits *little lower than Angels*, and conſequently of the Exiſtence of thoſe Superior Orders betwixt us and his Infinite Eternal Spirit. It gives us an indiſputable Confirmation of our Exiſtence, becauſe we know that we have the Power to know, and therefore are certain that we exiſt, becauſe we are ſenſible of the Qualities of our exiſting Subſtance, that is

endowed with the Ability of Thinking, Reaſoning, and Diſcerning: And as we diſcern thoſe Qualifications of our Soul, ſo we are aſſured that there is a Soul which is the Spring from whence thoſe Qualities riſe.

And tho' we cannot form exactly adequate Ideas of that Immaterial Spirit, or Thinking Subſtance; yet, as the great Mr. *Locke*, in his profound *Eſſay of Human Underſtanding*, obſerves; "If a Man "will examine himſelf concerning his Notion of "pure Subſtance in general, he will find he hath "no other Ideas of it, but by a Suppoſition of he "knows not what Support of ſuch Qualities, which "are capable of producing ſimple Ideas in us; "which Qualities are commonly called Accidents. "Thus if we talk or think of any Corporeal Sub"ſtance, as Horſe, Stone, *&c.* tho' the Idea we "have of either of them be but the Complication "or Collection of thoſe ſeveral ſimple Ideas, or ſen"ſible Qualities, which we uſe to find united in "the Object called Horſe or Stone; yet becauſe we "cannot conceive how they ſhould ſubſiſt alone, nor "one in another, we ſuppoſe them to ſubſiſt in, "and to be ſupported by ſome common Subject; "which Support we denote by the Name of Sub"ſtance, tho' it be certain we have no clear or di"ſtinct Idea of that Thing we ſuppoſe a Sup"port.

"The ſame Thing happens concerning the Ope"ration of our Mind, *viz.* Thinking, Reaſoning, "Fearing, *&c.* which we, concluding not to ſub"ſiſt of themſelves, and not apprehending how "they can belong to Body, are apt to think theſe "the Actions of ſome Subſtance we call Spirit: "Whereby it is evident, that having no other No"tion of Matter, but ſomething wherein theſe ma"ny ſenſible Qualities which affect our Senſes do "ſubſiſt, by ſuppoſing a Subſtance wherein Think-

"ing,

" ing, Knowing, Doubting, and a Power of Mo-
" ving do ſubſiſt, we have as clear a Notion of the
" Nature or Subſtance of Spirit, as we have of Bo-
" dy; the one being ſuppoſed to be (without know-
" ing what it is) the *Subſtratum* to thoſe ſimple
" Ideas which we have from without; and the other
" ſuppoſed (with a like Ignorance of what it is) to
" be the *Subſtratum* of thoſe Operations which we
" experiment in our ſelves within. It is plain then,
" that the Idea of Corporeal Subſtance in Matter
" is as remote from our Conceptions and Appre-
" henſions, as that of Spiritual Subſtance; and there-
" fore from our not having any Notion of the Sub-
" ſtance of Spirit, we can no more conclude its not
" Exiſting, than we can for the ſame Reaſon deny
" the Exiſtence of Body; it being as rational to af-
" firm there is no Body, becauſe we cannot know
" its Eſſence as it's called, or have the Idea of the
" Subſtance of Matter, as to ſay there is no Spirit,
" becauſe we know not its Eſſence, or have no Idea
" of Spiritual Subſtance.

And this may not only be ſufficient to ſatisfy us as to the Exiſtence of a reaſonable Soul, or the Immaterial Spirit of a Human Body, which muſt be joined to an Immortal Subſtance, or Body, after Death.

And as this Immaterial Subſtance hath the Power and Capacity of thinking, reaſoning, and retaining Ideas of Things (adequate or inadequate) about us, which are Objects of Senſe, or Things without our Sphere, which we cannot comprehend, but only contemplate, tho' we are ſure of their Exiſtence; ſo we are as certain that we have the Power of retaining Ideas of thoſe Things, and of communicating them one to another: This we are convinced of, by our frequent Converſation and Correſpondence with one another.

And

And by the ſame Rule and Manner of reaſoning, we are as certain of the Exiſtence (as I ſaid before) of a Superior Order of Spirits above us. Angels have often made their Appearance upon Earth as Meſſengers of God, and Miniſtring Spirits, which is the Signification of their Name Ἄγγελος; God Almighty employing thoſe good Spirits more immediately under him, to execute thoſe more ſublime Offices which he hath thought neceſſary for his own Glory and the Good of Mankind; which is evident from ſeveral Places in Scripture, both in the Old and New Teſtament: As *Gen.* 24. 7. *The Lord God of Heaven, which took me from my Father's Houſe, and from the Land of my Kindred, and which ſpake unto me, and which ſware unto me, ſaying, Unto thy Seed will I give this Land; He ſhall ſend his Angel before thee.* And again, *Exod.* 23. 23. *For mine Angel ſhall go before thee, and bring thee in unto the Amorites.* Again, *John* 5. 4. *For an Angel went down at a certain ſeaſon into the Pool, and troubled the Water.* And an Angel not only appeared to the Centinel that guarded our Saviour's Body when laid in the Sepulchre, but to *Zacharias* before the Birth of *John*, to inform him that his Wife *Elizabeth* ſhould bear a Son. *Luke* 1. 11. *And there appeared unto him an Angel of the Lord, ſtanding on the right hand of the Altar of Incenſe.* And *v.* 12, 13. *When Zacharias ſaw him, he was troubled, and Fear fell upon him. But the Angel ſaid unto him, Fear not, Zacharias; for thy Prayer is heard, and thy wife Elizabeth ſhall bear thee a Son, and thou ſhalt call his name John.* From whence it appears, that Angels have openly demonſtrated their Exiſtence, by their publick way of executing the Commands and Will of God.

From what we have hitherto obſerved of the Nature of Immaterial Subſtances, it is evident, That the Souls of Men (which I reckon in the Second

Degree of Immaterial Subſtances) have not only the Power of communicating their Thoughts, and thoſe acquired Ideas laid up in the Reſervatory of their Minds; but that Angels, which may be reckon'd a Third Degree of Immaterial Subſtances, hold Correſpondence with Men, and can convey the Will of their Creator to them, when they receive his Order and Commands. And this they do, not only by open and naked Converſation and perſonal Appearances, but ſometimes by a more ſecret way of Communication, conveying ſuch Ideas into the Minds of Men as may repreſent their Thoughts without Speaking, or Vocal Sounds, to affect the External Senſory. As when an Angel appeared to *Joſeph* in a Dream, *Mat.* 1. 18, 19, 20, 21. before the Birth of our Saviour. *When as his Mother Mary was eſpouſed to Joſeph, before they came together, ſhe was found with Child of the Holy Ghoſt. Then Joſeph her Huſband, being a juſt Man, and not willing to make her a publick Example, was minded to put her away privily. But while he thought on theſe Things, behold the Angel of the Lord appeared to him in a Dream, ſaying, Joſeph, thou Son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy Wife, for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghoſt: And ſhe ſhall bring forth a Son, and thou ſhalt call his name Jeſus; and he ſhall ſave the People from their Sins.* And *Jacob* when he ſlept in his way to *Haran*, ſaw in a Viſion what we muſt allow to be true, being teſtify'd by Holy Writ, *Gen.* 28. 12. *And he dreamt, and behold a Ladder ſet upon the Earth, and the Top of it reached to Heaven: And behold, the Angels of God aſcending and deſcending upon it.*

From what we have ſaid, it appears, how Immaterial Subſtances of a Superior Order and Degree to the Spirits of Men, may communicate their Thoughts not only by Words to the Souls of Men, but even ſecretly may convey ſuch Ideas as repreſent their Thoughts,

Thoughts, into the Minds of Men in Dreams, and whilſt they ſleep. We might add ſeveral other Texts of Scripture to the ſame Purpoſe; but theſe may be ſufficient to our preſent Deſign, which is to ſhew how Spirits, or Immaterial Subſtances, may act upon one another, and communicate their Thoughts; which ſerve to illuſtrate the Nature of Immaterial Subſtances, and to make the Idea we have of them more clear and intelligible, as well as to give us a truer Repreſentation of the Nature of them.

Thus much being ſaid of the Nature of theſe Immaterial Subſtances as they relate to good Angels, we ſhall next ſee what we are to think of thoſe evil Angels which are the Authors not only of their own Deſtruction, but of all the Miſeries and Misfortunes of Mankind. Theſe, in their firſt State, were of the ſame Degree of Glory with the reſt; and notwithſtanding their Fall thro' their Folly and Tranſgreſſions, yet they are ſtill Immaterial Subſtances of the ſame Degree or Order as to the Nature of their Subſtance, tho' their Rebellion againſt the moſt High God (which is the Fourth, and moſt infinitely Superior Order of Immaterial Subſtances) hath made them Outcaſts, or Devils: The word Διάβολος, which is derived from Διάβαλλω, *Transjicio*, ſignifying Outcaſts, or Angels caſt out of Heaven for their rebellious Tranſgreſſions againſt the God of Heaven and Earth. Thus 2 *Pet.* 2. 4. *God ſpared not the Angels that ſinned, but caſt them down to Hell, and delivered them into Chains of Darkneſs.* And again, *Jude* 6. *The Angels that kept not their firſt Eſtate, but left their Habitation, he hath reſerved in everlaſting Chains under Darkneſs.* And further, *Mat.* 25. 41. *Depart from me, ye curſed, into everlaſting fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels.*

These evil Angels had not long left their first State before they began to contrive the Fall of Mankind, and made use of their Art and Cunning to bring us into the same Condition with themselves: And as good Angels have their Power to act as Ministring Spirits to a good Purpose, so these having lost their Happiness by their Rebellion against their Maker, attempted to betray Mankind, and make us guilty of the like Transgression, in disobeying the Will and Commands of God. To this End, the Devil tempted *Eve* in the Shape of a Serpent to eat of forbidden Fruit, and break that first Commandment, which laid us open to the Wrath of God, which deprived us of the Bliss and Happiness we had otherwise enjoy'd in that delightful Paradise which our first Parents were placed in.

And as the Devil at the first made use of a Woman to betray us to Eternal Misery, so now and all Ages since, he hath made use of those Agents to execute his ill Designs; which is fully demonstrated by those Vassals of his, who concur with evil Angels to put in Practice the Diabolical Arts of Magick, Sorcery and Witchcraft. And that we may the better understand how the Devil is assisting to these deluded Creatures that enter themselves into his Service, and forsake their God to act under his Banner; having in this Chapter consider'd the Nature of Immaterial Substances, and shewn briefly how they may influence Material Bodies in some measure; we shall, in the next, proceed to observe more fully how Immaterial Substances may alter Matter, and affect Human Bodies.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Power of Immaterial Subſtances in altering Material Subſtances, and affecting Human Bodies.

FRom what hath been ſaid in the foregoing Chapter, it ſufficiently appears how Immaterial Subſtances may affect one another, by communicating Ideas, and transferring them, or ſecretly conveying them into the Minds of Men. Now ſince there are both good and evil Angels; accordingly, as the Mind is furniſh'd with good or bad Repreſentations of Things, and receives thoſe different Impreſſions from Miniſtring Spirits of a Divine Nature, or from the Devil and his Angels, it will follow conſequently, that the Diſpoſition of the Soul will be alter'd, and differently inclined to good or bad Works: And when the Devil hath thus ſecretly gained the Advantage, he will purſue his Intention and Purpoſe in deluding thoſe he hath prevail'd upon to put his evil Deſigns in Execution, and to tranſgreſs the Laws of God variouſly, as they are diſpoſed to commit Crimes of ſeveral Kinds.

And ſince it is evident that evil Spirits may have a private Communication with the Souls of Men, and incline them to commit Wickedneſs, and to tranſgreſs the Laws of God and Men; no doubt but they will be willing and ready to aſſiſt them in thoſe ill Actions, which they are not able to commit themſelves without Help. And tho' Sins of a leſs Degree may be put in Execution not only by the Conſent of, but by the immediate Act of Human Bodies; as Theft, Murther, &c. yet ſince the Diabo-

lical Arts of Magick, Sorcery and Witchcraft, require not only the Conſent of the Perſon who is the Devil's Agent, but likewiſe his Aſſiſtance in putting their evil Intentions in Practice after a private and ſecret manner, it is evident he will be willing, upon all Occaſions, and in all different ways, either their Envy and Malice or his cunning and crafty Devices can contrive, to execute their ill Intentions.

And foraſmuch as thoſe that are tormented and ſupernaturally affected with the Power of Witchcraft, are diſorder'd both in Body and Mind, by the Mediation of an ill Spirit that puts the Intentions of ſuch wicked Perſons in Execution; we ſhall next conſider how Immaterial Subſtances may alter the Forms of Matter, and conſequently their Qualities, and affect human Bodies with Diſorders and irregular Symptoms, contrary to the common Courſe of Nature.

How Immaterial Subſtances may affect one another, and alter the Diſpoſition of the Mind, we have already obſerved; *viz.* by loading it with Ideas of an ill or irregular Kind, which may either incline it to wicked Practices, as thoſe wretched Creatures are that practiſe Witchcraft; or by the Conſent or the Requeſt of thoſe Witches, theſe evil Angels may convey ſuch Ideas into the Mind of the Perſon who is diſorder'd by the Devil and his Agents, as may occaſion irregular Symptoms, and create unuſual Pains and Tortures.

And that Immaterial Spirits may not only diſorder the Mind, and thus diſquiet the Soul, but diſorder the Body alſo, will be further evident, if we ſeriouſly reflect upon the great Diſorders that happen in human Bodies only by the Influence of our own Souls when diſquieted with irregular Paſſions of the Mind: Some with Grief and Sorrow pine away and dye; and others, tho' their Fleſh is almoſt conſumed and waſted away, yet when that uneaſy Paſſion is removed

removed that before diſorder'd the Soul, they preſently recover their Strength, and grow ſtrong and luſty again. And that the Soul of Man, which is an Immaterial Subſtance, hath ſo great an Influence as to alter the Diſpoſition of human Bodies ſo much, not only the common Obſervation of the World teſtifies, but even the Scripture: As *Prov.* 15. 13. *A merry Heart makes a chearful Countenance; but by Sorrow of the Heart, the Spirit is broken.* And again, *Prov.* 17. 22. *A merry Heart does good like a Medicine; but a broken Spirit dries the Bones.* And further, *Prov.* 18. 14. *The Spirit of a Man will ſuſtain his Infirmities; but a wounded Spirit who can bear?*

And if the Soul of Man, diſquiet or diſordered, occaſions ſuch great Enormities, and irregular Symptoms and Accidents, as often happen by the Paſſions of the Mind, and the Strength of Imagination, what ſtrange Accidents may be produced by the forcible Power of an immaterial Subſtance, of a ſuperior Degree, and endowed with far greater Strength and Capacity, as well as Diſpoſition to do Miſchief; and if the Devil can diſorder the Soul with a much greater Force than Paſſions of the Mind, as he is a more active and ſubtle Spirit, Why may he not occaſion much greater Diſorders in material Subſtances, and natural Humours, that fluctuate in human Bodies; and as his Power is ſupernatural, it is but reaſonable to ſuppoſe and allow, that this Power exerted, muſt produce ſupernatural Effects.

And ſince a ſupernatural Power can produce ſupernatural Effects, and this Diabolical Power goes about like a Lion, ſeeking whom he may devour, it is no wonder he puts his Power in Execution in deluding, and communicating with ſuch deluded Creatures, who make that wicked Compact with him, to fulfil their wicked Deſires, in tormenting and torturing other

People, whom Envy and Malice may move them to disturb.

And that the Devil and his Angels being immaterial Substances of more Power and Subtilty than human Souls, can produce more dreadful Accidents in human Bodies, than what are natural, is evident from the great Force they have in acting upon Matter, so as to be able to move Bodies of considerable Weight and Bulk, to distant Places, without any visible Contact. The Scripture tells us of his moving our Saviour into a high Mountain, and carrying him up, and setting him upon the Pinnacle of the Temple: And it is recorded, and carry'd down to us by Tradition, how he hath moved Bodies more ponderous and heavy. There is a Church belonging to a Town, in *Oxford* Road from *London*, which stands upon a high Hill, remote from the Place, where no body would chuse to build such a Fabrick, it being both troublesome to the People to ascend such a Hill, as well as inconvenient in bad Weather; and if you ask the People who are Inhabitants thereabouts how it came to be built there, they will tell you, that the Stones which were prepared to build it in a more convenient Place, were carry'd away in the Night by a Diabolical Power, so that they were obliged to build it there, or not at all. There is another on a high Hill in *Devonshire*, that the Inhabitants give the same Account of, in the Road from *Exeter* to *Plymouth*. And in *Cheshire*, there is a Pavement some Miles long and broad, that was built or laid in one Night, without any human Knowledge or Assistance ever known. I might mention several other strange Actions of Diabolick Power of this Kind; but these are sufficient to shew what Power immaterial Substances have to move and act upon material Substances, or corporeal Bodies.

But

But not to mention these Historical Accounts, which are carried down from our Ancestors to Posterity, we may be fully convinced of the Truth of this Diabolical Power, to act upon Matter, and consequently human Bodies, by Instances contained in Holy Writ; as the *Magi*, who by their Charms, imitated most of the Acts done by *Moses*, assisted by Divine Power.

And if those evil Spirits have so much Power upon Bodies of Bulk and solid Weight, how much easier may they act upon the Humours and Parts of a human Body; either as when they act in Possessions, or at the Request of a wicked Man or Woman, who hath made a Compact and Agreement with them, who hath forsaken her God, and given way to the Insinuations, and false Delusions of the Devil. And if these Spirits further can transport Solid Bodies of vast Weight, how much easier may they move violently the small Minute Parts of Fluid Humours, and occasion violent Convulsions of the Parts, and exquisite Pain, by twinging the sensible Parts, which receive the Impression of such Bodies, and occasion the Sense of Feeling.

And if these Spirits, or incorporeal Substances, can convey Idea's of Things secretly into the Mind, and thus insinuate themselves into the chief and principal Seat of the Soul, where she performs the noblest Operations of the Mind; why cannot they pursue all the fine Meanders of the Body, and accompany the Soul in her Operations there, and produce ill Effects preternatural, and above the Power of natural Force? That they do, is certain, from the Testimony of Scripture, and the different Actions mentioned in Holy Writ, of Diabolick Kinds, both in the Old and New Testament; a great many of which I have quoted and laid down, in the several Chapters of this Book, upon different Occasions, and therefore shall not have Occasion

to repeat them again; as when the Witch of *Endor* raiſed *Samuel*; Devils of different Kinds, poſſeſſing the Bodies of Men and Beaſt, *&c.*

Thus much may be ſufficient to ſhew the Capacity immaterial Subſtances have to inflict Pains and Tortures, as well as evil Communications and Thoughts upon Mankind. But ſince we have taken Notice of the different ill Effects produced by theſe evil Angels, and what various Ways they take to do Miſchief; we ſhall further obſerve, that as we have diſtinguiſhed immaterial Subſtances, by Four principal Orders or Degrees; *Viz.* Firſt, that immaterial Subſtance that compoſes the riſing Body, and which is the eternal Habitation of the Soul. Secondly, That immaterial Spirit of Man, which is the Soul, and the Inhabiter of that Heavenly Celeſtial Body. Thirdly, That more exalted and refined immaterial Subſtance, which is given to form the Subſtance of Angels. And Fourthly, That eternal infinite Spirit, who, *Geneſis* xvii. 1. declares of himſelf, and his Power, ſaying, *I am the Almighty God.* Of this laſt there is no Difference; he having no Rival, and none being greater, and no Part of the Godhead being greater or leſs than the other. But in the inferior Order, *viz.* that of Angels, they are different in Strength and Power; as *Pſalm* ciii. 20. We are told of *Angels that excel in Strength*; and 2 *Peter* ii. 15. we are told of Angels greater in Power; and elſewhere, of Angels and Archangels. And as good Angels differ in Glory and Honour, ſo evil Angels are of different Kinds, as our Saviour declares, *Mark* ix. 29. *And he ſaid unto them, this Kind can come forth by nothing, but by Prayer and Faſting.*

And thus you find, by the different Hiſtories, in our *Hiſtory of Witchcraft*, that Witches made uſe of various Sorts of Spirits, which acted after a different Manner; and that Devils not only vary in their

their manner of acting, but also have different Names, is plain from what our Saviour said to the Devil, which enter'd into the Herd of Swine, asking him what his Name was, who answered, *Legion*; being of a different Kind from that Dumb Devil, *Mark* ix. which would be cast out by nothing but Prayer and Fasting.

Thus much might be sufficient to prove the Possibility of evil Angels acting upon human Bodies, and pursuing the ill Designs of those wicked Creatures, which are deluded by them, and are called Magicians, Sorcerers, and Witches; since we have not only Moral Proof, and their own Confessions, but also the Testimony of Scripture, and the Evidence of Reason, to confirm the Truth of what we assert.

But to demonstrate still more fully, the Possibility of those ill Practices, we shall consider further the Power of immaterial Substances over Matter, and how the latter may be affected by the former.

To demonstrate this, we may reflect on that grand Work of the Microcosm, or the Formation of the Universe. For as that omnipotent Cause of all Things, must needs precede the Creation, which was the Work of that Power, and the Cause of succeeding Effects, when Matter was first Created if immaterial Substance could not affect Matter, the Parts of Matter had never been put in Motion; and not convening into new Forms, could never have acquired new Qualities. Nor can we suppose that rude and senseless Matter of it self, could ever convene into Worlds formed after such a curious Manner, as we see they are; nor into different Bodies, framed with the greatest Contrivance and Skill: The Curiousness of the Works, shew the stupendious Wisdom of their Maker, and their Harmony and Usefulness, the vast Forecast of Providence,

But

But though the Univerſe was formed at the mighty *Fiat*, or Will of the Creator, out of primary created Matter, yet that *Fiat*, or Will, could not be put in Execution, without ſomething to direct the Parts of Matter into the curious Order they are in; they muſt be directed by ſomething that gave them Motion, and which was able to model and conſtitute the Form of the Univerſe; and ſince in the *Beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth*, it muſt be that immaterial Spirit of infinite Foreſight and Knowledge, that impelled or directed Created Matter into different Worlds; and ſince that is the immaterial Subſtance of the higheſt Order, and the Cauſe of all other Things, it follows, that an immaterial Subſtance may act upon Matter, otherwiſe the World would have been without Form, and all the Creatures in it unfaſhioned.

And as an immaterial Subſtance, of the pureſt Kind, and higheſt Nature, as well as profoundeſt Knowledge, even infinite in all his Attributes, was the firſt Director of Matter in all its different Appearances or Shapes, ſo his Providence, to ſhew the Greatneſs of his Power, hath, upon ſome Occaſions, altered the Courſe of Nature, and put a ſtop to the Eternal Laws he had preſcribed to natural Bodies. Thus when Five Kings were at War againſt *Gibeon*, Joſhua x. 12, 13. *Then ſpake Joſhua to the Lord, in the Day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the Children of Iſrael, and he ſaid in the Sight of Iſrael, Sun, ſtand thou ſtill upon Gibeon, and thou Moon in the Valley of Ajalon. And the Sun ſtood ſtill, and the Moon ſtayed, until the People had avenged themſelves upon their Enemies. Is not this written in the Book of Jaſher? So the Sun ſtood ſtill in the midſt of Heaven, and haſted not to go down about a whole Day.* Which makes it plain what mighty Power an immaterial Subſtance may have upon Matter, though in ſo rapid a Motion as the

the Sun; and which muſt give it Motion again, when it had loſt its firſt preſcribed Motion. And though this was done by an infinite Power, yet that infinite Power being an immaterial Subſtance, it proves what great Effects immaterial Subſtances may have upon material Bodies; and though it lies not in the Power of an immaterial Subſtance of an inferior Order, to equal God in his Works; yet, it is ſufficient to prove that they have an inferior Power upon Matter, according to their Force and Strength; and this is evident, by the Power of good and bad Angels, ſhewn in their different Actions, and demonſtrated by their ſeveral Works, which we have often mentioned in this Book.

But to ſhew the Power of immaterial Subſtances, and what Effects they can produce upon Matter, let us conſider briefly their Effects on human Bodies, in the Formation of the Microcoſm, or human Bodies in their firſt beginning of Increaſe in the Womb, upon Impregnation and Conception.

Upon this Occaſion we ſhall not enter upon a Phyſical Diſcourſe of the Reaſon of Impregnation and Conception, but only obſerve what is ſufficient to our preſent Purpoſe, and to anſwer the Intention we here aim at.

Upon this Occaſion, then, we are to conſider, that human Creatures are compoſed of a Soul and Body; and that the Soul is the grand Agent in directing the Actions of the Body, as the immenſe immaterial God is of the Univerſe: I mean not in firſt forming Mankind, that being the Work of God in the Creation, as part of the Univerſe; but I mean the Soul, that immaterial Subſtance, added to human Nature, is the great Plaſtick Power which overrules the Actions within the Body, except a ſuperior immaterial Subſtance interpoſes, and is chiefly concerned in directing the Parts of Matter in the Formation of a *Fœtus* in the Womb; and that when upon

upon Conception, the *Ovum*, or firſt Seed of Mankind is conveyed from the *Ovaries* into the Womb, and hath increaſed to that Maturity, that it grows faſt to the Mother, and receives Nouriſhment; then the Soul directs and influences the Diſpoſition or orderly Structure of the Parts, and actuates them into a proper Form, or the firſt Shape of a Body; which makes the little World, our Body, an Emblem of the greater World, the Univerſe, and illuſtrates the Neceſſity of a Power ſuperior to Matter, or an immaterial Subſtance to form the Univerſe.

Now that the immaterial Subſtance our Soul is concerned in the firſt Formation of our Bodies within the Womb, is evident from the irregular Accidents that happen upon Womens longing for particular Things, which they never attain; the Marks upon the Child being fixed by the Strength of Imagination, and the Energy of the Soul, of thoſe particular Things they longed for. Now if the Soul hath Power by a ſtrong Conveyance of the Idea's of ſuch Things down to the Child, through ſuch Mediums as properly belong to neither Mother nor Child, but are uſeful only to convey Nouriſhment, and return what is ſuperfluous, and occaſions an irregular Formation of a *Fœtus*, or Child in the Womb it not only ſhews what a ſtrong Influence immaterial Subſtances may have upon Matter; and that the Soul may be very reaſonably the Cauſe of regular Formations; but it alſo gives us to conclude, that, ſince immaterial Subſtances of a higher Nature than human Spirits, *viz.* thoſe of fallen Angels, can inſinuate themſelves into our Thoughts, and conſequently penetrate into all the Receſſes of the Soul: I ſay, it gives us juſt Reaſon to conclude, that ſuch Subſtances can produce ſtrange and ſupernatural Effects in human Bodies; not only when they ent r into our Bodies, as in Poſſeſſions, but when they are employed

by Compact with those deluded Creatures called Witches.

From what we have said, considered and put together, I doubt not but it will sufficiently appear, that immaterial Substances have the Power to commit all those Actions which have been mentioned in this Book, and our *Compleat History of Witchcraft*; when those immaterial Substances are of that pernicious Kind, which lost Angels proved to be, when they were cast out of Heaven, and merited the Name of Devils; being cast out of Heaven by the Power of that superior infinite Spirit, who was the Maker and Governor of all Things.

And though some may say, that God Almighty would not suffer such Creatures to act jointly with the Devil, to inflict and torment innocent good Persons; yet the Scripture tells us, that the Devil, *like a roaring Lion, goes about, seeking whom he may betray*; and if he hath betray'd such, and they act by his Power, no doubt but they will pursue the Works of their new Master, whom they adhere to, having left their true God; and though they can do nothing without God's Permission, yet, we know, that he suffered himself to be tempted, to learn us how to resist Temptations; and none can suffer, that wholly confide in him, and follow his Example strictly, in resisting Temptations; yet the Frailty of human Nature hath made us too apt to give way to them, and few grown Persons can say they are without Sin, and consequently have in some Measure forsaken their God, which may render them liable to the Insults of the Devil and his Angels, or those other inferior Vassals, which act in Concert with them, and acquire that reproachful Denomination of Witches. And though some may say, that though grown Persons may be liable to suffer by such Persons under Contract with the Devil, who assists them, yet Infants, and those of tender Years, can have committed

ted no Offence, notwithſtanding they likewiſe ſuffer by the ſame evil Agents; to which I anſwer, that ſince the fall of *Adam*, we are from our Birth guilty of Original Sin; and the Commandment tells us, *that the Sins of the Fathers ſhall be viſited upon their Children, to the Third and Fourth Generation.*

I ſhall therefore conclude this Chapter, with this Obſervation further, of the Nature and Power of thoſe Diabolical Spirits, who are the chief Actors of thoſe Tragical Arts of *Witchcraft*, &c. *viz.* That as they can inſinuate their ill Repreſentations into the Minds of Men, and torture their Bodies, ſo they have Power to aſſume Bodies when they pleaſe, and appear in different Shapes; as when the Devil enter'd the Swine, and transformed himſelf into an Angel of Light. And Angels not only appeared upon ſeveral Occaſions, but our Saviour told his Diſciples to feel that he had Fleſh and Bones; which he needed not to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf by, if Spirits could not render themſelves Viſible; he would have ſaid that Spirits could not appear.

Since then it appears, that the Art of *Witchcraft* is not impoſſible, but hath the Teſtimony of Reaſon, as well as other Proof; all I ſhall add is, that as God ſpared not Angels that ſinned, nor *Adam* that tranſgreſſed, and hath ſtrictly commanded that a Witch ſhall not live, the Laws againſt ſuch Perſons ought to be put in Execution, leſt we diſobey God, and in excuſing horrible Crimes, ſuffer the World to be overrun with Wickedneſs.

F I N I S.